

**England
SAFE AND TRIUMPHANT :
OR,
RESEARCHES
INTO THE
APOCALYPTIC LITTLE BOOK,
AND
PROPHECIES,
CONNECTED AND SYNCHRONICAL.**

BY THE REV. FREDERIC THRUSTON, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

"Six thousand years of sorrow have well nigh
Fulfilled their tardy and disastrous course
Over a sinful world ; and what remains
Of this disastrous scene of human things
Is merely as the working of a sea
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest."

REV. i. 3.

"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of
THIS Prophecy."

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TO
SIR THOMAS MAYNARD HESILRIGE, BART.

OF
HOXNE HALL, SUFFOLK,

THESE RESEARCHES
INTO THE DESTINIES DARKLY-REVEALED
OF THAT HOLY CHURCH AND EXALTED NATION,
WHICH
BOTH BY EXAMPLE TO GRACE
AND BY INFLUENCE TO SUPPORT,
IS PRAISE ENOUGH,
ARE WITH EVERY SENTIMENT
OF THE MOST AFFECTIONATE
AND GRATEFUL RESPECT
DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Address.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

I SHALL not apologize for offering these remarks to your attention. We are living in an age of terror. Nation has fallen after nation with unexampled rapidity, and, in scriptural language, we, even we only, are left. We are hunted, and seem without strength before the pursuer. In the words of a most elegant writer, ‘ year after year brings the contest nearly to ourselves, the last mortal struggle between overwhelming oppression and indignant freedom. The evil days of blood and desolation, which have brought upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity, men’s hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth, seem at last to be gathering over our heads; and in the hours which are now approaching, there may be required from every one of

us no slight exercise of virtue and no vulgar firmness of faith. The time may be on its wing when every moral and Christian principle must be exerted for our national salvation, and when we too must fall under the powers of darkness, unless we are clad in the armour of light.'

In such an age the man who thinks must tremble for his country, and for that dearer part of it which comprises most that attaches him to this world, his family and his friends. With more than common solicitude he must look forward into futurity, to discover whether this great sanctuary of liberty, religion, and virtue be, or be not, to fall before such tremendous efforts as may shake it to its foundation. It is true that, even politically speaking, we have hope, and good and growing hope; but we have ample cause for apprehension; and nothing less than divine wisdom can pierce the lowering clouds of futurity. We know, however, that we do not stand the hazard of the die. We are in the hand of Him with whom nothing is chance, who not only overrules the events of kingdoms and empires, but never in the infinite combination of events permitted even one hair of one head to fall without his command. With respect to the fate of his Church, it may boldly be declared that He has been pleased to communicate to man a portion of the Divine Prescience. From that vo-

tune of futurity which lies unclosed before his throne, a transcript of some few pages may be found in the Christian prophecies. This great Revelation of destiny I have endeavoured to look upon; and I do not think that the deepest humility and diffidence of mind could have impeded the attainment of the full and firm conviction that England is safe.

Whether there can be imparted to many of my partners and brethren in liberty and religion the feelings of my own triumphant satisfaction, I dare not pretend to determine. It was my duty to make the trial; and my labour will not have been lost, if from the heart of one husband and father, I chase one pang of foreboding fear.

FREDERIC THRUSTON.

Wolston, October 3, 1812.

Preface.

IN the interpretation of the Prophecies the success has hitherto borne no assignable proportion to the talents employed ; insomuch that a prejudice has hence arisen against the very attempt, and that worthy and even wise men have been tempted to account the fathoming of these deep mysteries beyond the power of human ingenuity. The great Newton, futile on no subject, has not perhaps in any failed so much as in his Observations on the Prophecies. It is not very probable that Voltaire ever troubled himself to examine his work, or even open the book ; but if we could suppose it, we might almost pardon his malignant remark that Newton had written on the Revelation to reconcile men to his superiority over them in all other respects. It is certain indeed, that, like those before and after him, he has often fallen into error, and with some happy truths, has put his hand and seal to much palpable inconsistency. Such has been the fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel, which declared that the words should be long closed up and sealed. The most consummate wisdom of man was baffled ; and the divine prediction received its accomplishment.

To the appointed time we are now, however, quickly approaching, or rather, as I am strongly inclined to believe, in that appointed time of the end we are now living. The signs of that time are strong. Many have run, and are running to and fro ; and however small the individual success, yet knowledge on this and every subject has increased, and is still in an unparalleled manner increasing, in its depth as well as extension. It is not presumptuous in us to tread confidently even in that path where Newton stumbled ; for the pioneers of literature have gone before and the road is levelled. All is ready to our hands : concordances, commentaries, and lexicons, are all prepared for our use. It would be ignominious in the sons not to exceed their fathers, who did not stand on any part of the sure ground which is now possessed, nor could with the same confidence have looked forward to a decisive knowledge of these hidden things. According to the testimony of the late Bishop of London, “ the Apocalypse, by a reasonable degree of application, steady perseverance, and the assistance of able and judicious expositors, may be very well comprehended, at least in its most material and useful parts, even by persons of little learning and moderate understanding.”

In fact, the moral phenomena of most stupendous moment which have burst out to the asto-

nishment of our age, these substances of unexampled evil, have explained the shadows which they had thrown before them. The events that have been presented before our eyes have not been merely passing events. They have been exhibited as the proper subject of prophecy. They have been as such mark the great eras of time. The whole current of human affairs has been turned. After centuries of repose, one sudden shock and convulsion has changed the face of the Roman world, and nailed down the event to the prophecy. One great date having thus been ascertained, the chronology of the prophecies has become even capable of demonstration. The expectation of the celebrated Dr. Burnet (*Theory of the Earth*) is realized. “Till some of the enlightening prophecies,” he said, “be accomplished, we are as a man that awakes in the night; all is dark about him, and he knows not how far the night is spent, but if he watch till the light appears, the first glimpses of that will resolve his doubts. *We must have a little patience, and, I think, but a little,* still eyeing the prophecies of the resurrection of the witnesses and the depression of Antichrist, ‘till by their accomplishment the day dawn, and the clouds begin to change their colour. Then we shall be able to make a near guess when the Sun of Righteousness will arise.” This expectation is realized. Reason

alone might promise us that, 'ere long, our efforts should be crowned with complete success; and Revelation does assure us that at this time knowledge *shall be* increased.

The popular repugnance to this study is now kept alive rather by the incessant discrepancies of professed interpreters, than by any dearth of actual discovery. In the multitude of counsellors there is certainly wisdom; but it is generally environed by a multitude of follies, and it requires a skilful eye to discern the good from the evil. Too many commentators of modern date have prejudiced the cause, which they intended to have served. Many by glaring errors have discredited partial success; and only a few can be put in competition with the author of the laboured Dissertation upon the 1260 days, who having collected most that was worth collection, has confuted more than was worth confutation.

In this work no pretence is made to very extensive collection. A few works of estimation have been perused with some profit; but such investigation was generally subsequent to close and original attention to the subject, and the formation of my own opinions. It has thus been my plan to think in a great measure for myself, never to place implicit confidence in any guide, and seldom to seek assistance until the necessity was experienced. When that assistance has been

sought, it has generally been sought in vain. To Dr. Faber, who liberally brings out of his store-house things new and old, I am more indebted than to any other interpreter ; and indeed on chronological points, as far as I have chosen to be concerned, his determinations have been considered as so unexceptionable, that scarcely a single deviation has been ventured. With respect to *the time of the end* I have, indeed, found myself obliged to dissent ; but that subject is not *much* implicated in the following pages. I have uniformly endeavoured to withdraw for the present from the Prophecies of the Old Testament ; and upon these I apprehend that Dr. Faber has been very much more successful (because, perhaps, more original) than in the parts which are the subject of this Essay, and upon which he nevertheless industriously and judiciously selected the best interpretations then extant. His work indeed is of high value, but according to the old complaint and the example of many predecessors, I have heard it objected, that he has composed *a great book*. It is a work professedly calculated for those few alone, who have leisure and inclination to wade patiently through the formal exposure of all the palpable mistakes, which have arisen from hasty surveys of a very abstruse subject. It has hence the double disadvantage of prolixity and brevity ; brevity where least desir-

able, when the author speaks for himself or for the opinions he has embraced, and prolixity where most tiresome, when he judicially sums up the evidence for and against opinions,

“ Which to be slighted need but to be seen.”

I had long wished that a more popular attention could be attracted to a subject which has perhaps been treated too much in the controversial style, and has accordingly been too long popularly considered, as a little beyond the comprehension of either writer or reader. Though the detection of falsehood is certainly in ordinary cases a step gained towards the discovery of truth, yet I regretted that Dr. Faber did not simply propose his own cases with all the extent and strength of argument they admitted, and leave the dreams of *palpable* error to fall into a peaceful oblivion. A moiety of his work would not have in this case been absorbed in the painful confutation of the most wild opinions! The mortal stroke has thus indeed been given to many a notion, which will scarcely again rise to the serious disturbance of any commentator. But this is done, while his volumes remain in the same state; and the three-fourths of indefatigable controversy have now by the very success lost the little interest they once possessed.

These considerations, with some of a more urgent nature, led to the production of the following pages, which, though I have studiously withdrawn from controversy, have, by successive ideas of discovery, and by subsequent illustrations from other authors, been multiplied very far beyond my original intention and wish. I purposed to be brief and simple: the work has deceived me, and is neither: it must, I fear, be *studied* to be thoroughly understood. If there be some parts which may amuse a light reader, as I believe there are many, yet the student will find others which may require close and deep attention. Excepting the chronology, there will invariably be found a suspicious novelty or originality of ideas. On most of the leading points there is confessedly a dissent from all former expositors; but we have hitherto been at best so dubiously right and wrong upon these subjects, that such novelty may in truth be by no means undesirable. Thus many new interpretations are advanced; but novelty seemed necessary.

It is possible, nevertheless, that I may be under a mistake with respect to ideas which I may suppose *discoveries*. In this case, very far from exclaiming, “*Pereant, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*” I shall not by any means regret the detection.

I could have preserved to the following pages the air of inviting ease, had I not thought incum-

bent upon me the consideration of every individual syllable. A loose discussion has hitherto been more in fashion : it is easy and popular : it eludes difficulties, which might be found insuperable if encountered ; and has much shew of decision. It must, however, want the certainty and decision which may result from that cautious system in which this work has been regulated.

Since history must afford the best comment on *fulfilled* prophecies, an impartial interpreter should extract the very words from the historian's page ; and this has required much less ingenuity than industry. I conceive, however, that the far more important part of this work is the consideration of the Prophecies *unfulfilled*. An idea has indeed been prevalent that such enquiries are idle, if not presumptuous. One eminent writer, by the name of his composition (*History the Interpreter of Prophecy*), has given it almost a proverbial form ; and others, when tempted to a slight infraction of a law, grown out of the ancient custom of the land, have not ventured the breach without bashful hesitation and deprecatory apologies. For my own part, I cannot acknowledge this ancient custom to be binding, and should not have any objection to try the case either by Scripture or reason. The sanction of such a maxim seems to me a derogation from the honour of the Christian prophecies, and to afford

fair handle for the taunting observation of the infidel, that it excites some suspicion when so much is said to be seen in the prophecies after the accomplishment, but nothing at all before.

Some ancient prophecies, apparently no more clear than our own, were not only understood, but, as was designed, were even prospectively acted upon by the wiser part of the interested community. When indeed a prophecy is said to be sealed until some marked time unarrived, it may then be idle to be confident of the full development; although even in this case it may be necessary to enter deeply into the subject to ascertain even the non-advent of that marked era. There is not, however, any specified restriction upon any part of the prophecies of St. John; but a blessedness pronounced upon those who study them. They are not only expressly declared to be in an unsealed state; but the angel is as expressly sent *to shew beforehand* to the faithful the things which must shortly be done. So far therefore from culpable is the consideration of unfulfilled prophecy, that it is pronounced a most laudable and blessed pursuit. Papistical, indeed, would be the notion that the bare reading of the foreign language of symbols, without understanding, or seeking to understand, could be the charm to bless us. Fulfilled prophecy will, I am convinced, be one day found the great testi-

mony of the Christian religion. But I am also convinced that to become this perfect evidence, events must have been foreseen before their arrival. As we are told, so we must understand before it comes to pass, that when it is come to pass we may believe. "Should it please God," says one author, "to give the students in prophecy any clear ideas, and they should be published to the world with any degree of correctness *before they happen*, this would very much tend to convince gainsaying infidels, or at least to arm the weak Christian against the seducements of sophistry."

A strong sense of duty, I believe, rather than any latent feeling of literary vanity, has led to this publication. It would have been culpable to suppress presumed discoveries, which I conceived, though perhaps indeed erroneously, to be important to that pure church and that exalted nation, of which I thank my God I am a member. I boldly avow my trust that this publication will be eminently useful, strongly apprehending that stupendous national proceedings, even before this generation shall pass away, will be founded on the avowed basis of a *correct* interpretation of the Prophecies. My reasons will appear; and events perhaps not far distant will try the ultimate correctness of ideas, which infallibly will for a time be ridiculed. I am persuaded that I have given much truth; I hope and trust, nothing but the truth: the whole

truth, perhaps very seldom. The train of ideas here promulgated may admit an improvement almost indefinite.

If it were allowable to obtrude on the public the private feelings of the writer, it might be said that since the leading ideas of this work arose in his mind, he has been doubly desirous of life, and avaricious of time, in the fond imagination that although such works are not to be precipitated, it would be even unjust to delay by indolence or any trifling occupations, the possible diffusion of invigorating hopes, teeming, as he conceives, with such important consequences :

“Quantulacunque estis, vos ego magna voco !”

These enthusiastic ideas have excited his own smiles, before they went forth to raise the same emotions in others. Still, however, these pages are thus submitted to the judgment of the public, and as that may possibly be unfavourable, a farther appeal is made to the issue of events. Trusting that the interpretations advanced are essentially correct, or I should never have advanced them ; and sure, that if they be correct, their importance is immense, I certainly wish them currency. I cannot however prevail upon myself to forget how surprisingly easy a thing it is for an

author to persuade himself. I may be deceived ; and if I be, and there be after all a preponderance of error, I pray God from my heart that the book may quickly sink into oblivion. “ Convinced, * however, on the whole, of the utility of this publication, and yet aware of my own inability to do it justice, I dismiss it with that mixed emotion of confidence and humility which such a situation naturally inspires.”

* Preface to translation of Lowth's Lectures.

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CHAPTER

ON SYMBOLS.

AT the entrance upon a subject, which partakes of the nature of almost all sciences, and may consequently be not a little dark and mysterious at the outset, an assurance that there cannot be any insuperable difficulty may both gratify and encourage the student. As these pages will scarcely be perused except by the firm believer in Revealed religion, this first question may be resolved by the express assertions of Scripture, that ‘many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased ; that the wise shall understand the words of the book ; that the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel for the express purpose of shewing to his servants the things which must shortly be done.’

It is thus evident that knowledge is to be increased, that the scripturally wise are to understand. The Established Church of England believes herself the true church ; and with deep regret we must add, almost the only true, pure, apostolical church on the face of the earth. It follows unavoidably, on the admission of these principles, that the members of this church are, collectively and comparatively, the wise, the servants of God, and these therefore have the pro-

mises to encourage them in their researches. As many of these have run, and are running, to and fro, knowledge must be increased and increasing ; and every individual who fairly employs his mental powers upon the subject may reasonably hope to be able to make some addition to the general stock.

It is greatly to be feared, however, that the very persons who have taken upon themselves to instruct the world, have to accuse themselves of the evident backwardness of the world to yield them a patient hearing. It must be confessed that on this subject men of real ability have seemed under an infatuation ; have advanced positions palpably contradictory to each other ; and have often maintained true and false with the same intemperate pertinacity. Few therefore on either side have effected more than a demonstration of the errors of their antagonists. Honourable exceptions there are of course ; yet perhaps not one commentator could be found who has not sometimes been palpably at a loss, when he has been determined to avoid the appearance ; and who has not occasionally been driven to a manifest perversion of those very texts, which upon the advancement of biblical knowledge have either been shewn corrupt, or distinctly applicable to a very different subject. Every symbol has indeed by turns been bent to every thing ; and each scheme, however wild it has appeared to the impartial examiner, has been advanced with as fearless confidence, as if the interpretation had been revealed, as well as the prophecy.

Next to poor human nature, the great cause of this fallibility has been our imperfect comprehension of the symbolical language. The age, indeed, in which we live is not an age of poetry, painting, or symbols ; not an age delighting in what have been termed elegant shadows, or in dark, mysterious representations ; but it is one of clear ideas and simple expressions, when endeavours have been made to simplify every subject for plain understandings, and to level all that is rugged in the road to knowledge. This state of ideas has nevertheless been manifestly disadvantageous to prophetical elucidation. The men of this generation, at the expence of much labour and difficulty, can scarcely after all attain that quick and easy comprehension of symbols which is almost natural to a different state of civilization. Many of us perhaps have been first taught in our Bibles the elements of letters, and may remember, even after the age of mere infancy, to have been filled with consternation at the great monsters, Gog and Magog, with lively satisfaction at the glorious picture of the golden city, the New Jerusalem, and with all other various emotions correspondent to the many wonders of which we read. This was sufficiently childish ; but, I conceive, that Oriental children would never be thus beguiled. The people of the East are from their very infancy familiarized with enigmas ; and much more with the parabolic language of symbols. In advanced age they read it in the structure of their mother tongue, on their temples, their coins, and their ceremonies ; and at this very day, indeed, a

lion with wings, and other fictitious animals, may be seen on the ruins of Persepolis.

The prophets spoke the hieroglyphic: they used no peculiar style of expression, the creation of their own heated imaginations, but the sober settled language of the age; while we must with difficulty, and seldom with full success, revert to ancient manners and ideas, to be able in any fair degree to understand the nature and the import of this, their language, so mysterious to us.

If the ideas of our childhood have not in fact absolutely grown up with us, yet they have been succeeded by a set not very superior. We gain indeed a vague notion, that these things are not to be understood as if exactly literal; and Gog and Magog, for instance, are not confounded with Goliah and the sons of the giants. But this is a great concession, seldom far extended, or consistently granted. The giants may not be real giants; yet the sun, moon, and stars, are literally the heavenly luminaries; and astronomy and history have been pressed and perplexed to shew the literal fulfilment of a symbolical eclipse! The natural and unavoidable consequence has been, that among some sober persons all endeavours at interpretation are suspected, and undervalued; and if left in such cool possession of their judgments, as in the midst of disappointment to be still aware that the prophecies must certainly have been written to be understood, they fancy that light is to burst out at once, and the whole scheme of prophecy to be developed by something of miraculous illumination. This is neither caricature nor

exaggeration: it is the real state of the ideas of the well-informed body of the people; and to such an excess have they been carried, that the Prophecies long lay dormant; and the Church herself desisted from reading in the congregation the Prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling in her own state. As great blessings as were pronounced both upon him that read, and them that heard, it became necessary to forego those blessings, when the utter ignorance of the prophetical language had caused the prophecies to be the abundant fountain of unmixed error.

Let any one peruse the Revelation, as it too frequently has been perused, affixing to the symbols the best meaning he can invent; let him describe the ideas left by this chaotic jumble of what he will conceive to be extravagant metaphors; he will confess, or you will perceive, that he is bewildered, and uninstructed. The fact is, that we are not to guess at a language, but to read one, formed perhaps originally in some instances on caprice. We can scarcely discern perhaps why a locust should be symbolical of a priest, or the frog of an impostor; yet the facts are certain. The scythe and the hour-glass, the glory, and the cross, excite no ideas more definite. We must read the language as it exists; not perhaps as we might ingeniously form it.

It would be irksome to recount all the ideas which have been promulgated respecting the prophetic symbols. Within a few years an assertion has been ventured, that each symbol has its unalterable definite import; and that one distinct

accomplishment of a chronological prophecy is as much as is reasonably to be expected. The promulgation of these discoveries we owe to Dr. Faber; yet on the admission that the prophecies were written to be understood, common sense might have led to these conclusions some hundred years back. The Prophecies, in fact, are truly and admirably poetical. The same word denotes both prophet and poet, in the Arabic, the Greek, and the Latin languages. The Oriental poetry, however, has never been of the European cast. Besides that its essence is to be bold, to a seeming extravagance, the images and allusions of original poetry must infinitely vary with the face and manners of the age and country. The ancient Eastern poetry is thus as different from the calmness of our modern and European versification, as Europe itself from Asia. Poetry, according to the definition of Dr. Blair, is the language of passion, or enlightened imagination. Prophecy then is poetry; for it is the language of enlightened imagination. The mind of a prophet is supposed to be full of some object, which fires his imagination, and which must communicate to his style an elevation correspondent to his ideas. Thus from the pen of an Eastern prophet will there be a production very different in its mode of expression from the calm language of modern Europe; and hence will arise those highly poetical expressions, that unlimited and seemingly intemperate introduction of metaphors, and that lofty style which to us is absolutely enigmatical.

But the prophetical style is no more indebted

to poetry, than to the sister art of painting. In the early figurative style, the greatest man, for instance, would naturally be termed the Sun. In the first rude essay towards writing in some nations, and in others perhaps as an ornamental substitute for writing, the natural course was to paint or carve out the Sun, and make it representative of their ruler. When America was first discovered, this was the only kind of writing known in the half-civilized Empire of Mexico. They had indeed a few marks become arbitrary, but they were very few; and by historical paintings the Mexicans were accustomed to transmit the memory of the most important transactions of their Empire. Let us suppose that a succession of these paintings had been described to us by one who had seen them. Exactly thus does St. John describe pictures, which he saw in the pages of the opened book, not significant indeed of *past* events (though, I apprehend, we may doubt whether there be not some accordant historical paintings in Holy Writ), but prophetic of the most important *future* occurrences in the Roman Empire. These symbolical paintings are the foundations upon which voice and action are superinduced by St. John.

This art of painting had an obvious tendency to fix the seeming extravagance of metaphor. The symbol of the Sun having once gained to the eye the unalterable interpretation of the chief of the tribe or nation, the metaphorical meaning would not be deserted in poetry, that painting to the ear. A certainty would be attributed to metaphor, of

which we have scarcely an idea ; and the enigmatical vision of Joseph was accordingly at once understood by his parents. Nothing is more observable in the ancient prophets than the calm and careless manner in which they pass from the destruction of the sun and moon and universe, and, as it were, the return of Chaos, to the smiting of a horse and his rider, and the deposition of a prince from his throne. The *bathos*, which sometimes may offend a modern ear, was no bathos when the prophet wrote. There was no extraordinary elevation in his metaphorical language, and consequently little descension when he returned to the literal. The apparent wildness of early speech and poetry was little more than apparent. Their metaphors were used in the same sense as ordinary language ; and it became indispensable for poetry to be bold to excess, lest it should sink to the level of ordinary prose.

In some parts, as perhaps in China, the pride of ignorant learning preferred the difficult and mysterious mode so long as to lose the alphabetical writing which might once have been possessed ; but wherever the arbitrary alphabetical characters had prevailed over the ancient or the ornamental symbolic, the latter became of course peculiar to the learned. What perhaps had originated in mere necessity, or had been transplanted from barbarous regions, became, as usual, a boast in its disuse and difficulty. We are told by Herodotus and Diodorus, that the great pyramids near Memphis were covered with hieroglyphics, and *also* written inscriptions, respecting the cost

and manner of the erection. A comparatively modern traveller (A. D. 1190), asserted that the ancient hieroglyphic characters then extant on the stones of the two greater pyramids alone would have filled ten thousand volumes. In a short time, however, these signs were exclusively reserved for the dark vehicles of recondite science or ignorance. Hence arose the term of hieroglyphic; and it became the favourite custom of the East both to convey sacred truths and to veil the confusion of ignorance and falsehood, under mysterious figures and representations ; to excite an appetite, as they said, for knowledge, to keep attention alive, and to exercise the genius by the labour of investigation and the praise of success. The languages, however, long retained the same colour ; and the ancient prophets and poets used the symbolical style, in full confidence that they were clearly understood. It may be observed as an illustration, that in our old maps we frequently find a house for a city, and a tree for a wood ; and thus also have we other verbal symbols or metaphors, which have entirely lost their metaphorical purport. We have the vein of humour, the light of knowledge, the vehicle or carriage of instruction, and many others which would, perhaps, with the last seem most extravagant in an Asiatic ear. The reason that we have not these turns of expression so generally and strongly, may simply be that the art of writing came to us ready manufactured. We did not go through the process ; and therefore fail our ideas and language of the symbolical tincture.

Mede in the annexed passage indirectly suggests another reason for the difference, ‘ According to the testimony of Moses Maimonides, the Arabians in his time, in their vulgar speech, when they would express that a man was fallen into some great calamity or adversity, used to say, “ *Cælum ejus super terram ejus cecidit.*” No question these schemes were as familiar to them, as our poets’ strains and expressions are to us, *though of another genius.* Ours are borrowed from fables, stories, persons, places : theirs were from the frame of the world, the Sun, Moon, Stars, Elements, &c. &c.’ Upon the whole, if we come to the study of the prophecies unacquainted with the genius of the East, we do but attempt to understand a foreigner by his tone and modulation, without knowing the meaning of any of his words.

These very brief hints may perhaps shew how ready and admirable were the organs for the conveyance of prophetical truths. The purpose of Prophecy is, above all, to shew that the Lord rules among the children of men, and that he fashions all events to the fulfilment of his purposes. Correct, definite, and exact expressions are necessary for this purpose ; and yet a degree of obscurity must hang over the whole, were it only to prevent the concurrence of man in fulfilling the prophecy. St. John was an Asiatic, and his ideas were formed before he left his own country. His style is similar to that of the ancient prophets, to whom he perpetually alludes ; and his prophecies are indeed rather amplifications than original. He is such an imitator, that Mede

calls the *Apocalypse* an explication of Daniel; and this, because treating of the very same events as the ancient prophets, in the same symbolical language, it would have been absolutely impossible not to have imitated. His parabolic imagery is necessarily borrowed, moreover, from the ancient poetical prophets; so that without the least attempt at poetry, he is sublime and splendid. As then the ancient symbol was to be understood, so exactly is the poetical painting or the painting poetry of St. John. If the purport of the former have been demonstrated clear and definite, so also has been the latter. It will nevertheless be perceived that this subject has been argued at a disadvantage, as will be found when we proceed upon the interpretation; for, says Mede, ‘as much as the divine *Revelation* of spiritual truths in the New Testament surpasses the Old for evidence and clearness, so the Prophetical part of the New, for the fabric and sureness of the grounds for interpretation, exceeds all the Prophecies of the Old.’

This subject might admit of a protracted discussion; but enough has perhaps been said in proof that a regular and exact analogy is preserved in the application of the symbols, whether to the ear or the eye. As much knowledge of these as may be necessary can be introduced into the body of the work in the appropriate places. The preceding remarks may be understood, rather as hinting at the origin of the prophetical language, and shewing in what manner the prophetical symbols are definite, than as any proof of the con-

nected points. Whether these speculations be well or ill founded, is rather a matter of curiosity, than great importance. It has been attempted to shew the cause of the small progress hitherto made, and the reasons of the expectation of better success in future.

These introductory remarks may be concluded with a borrowed observation. Men are apt to think that could they but see a miracle wrought in favour of religion, the force of it upon their minds would be irresistible. They have their wish; they have the most stupendous of all miracles in the prophecies accomplished and accomplishing.

CHAPTER

ON THE CHRONOLOGY.

I AM induced to preface this chronological discussion by requiring an exemption from much censure, and a resignation of all claims to praise. I profess that I am the more brief, because I dare not be full. Were I to enter more largely upon the subject and its connections, with my present insufficient stock of knowledge, I should be obliged to tread without full reliance, yet with some servility, in the track of others. It appears necessary as an introduction to my peculiar province, that some few pages should be devoted to this very important subject; but it must be considered, without any pretence at novelty, as briefly and simply as possible, and only so far as strictly connected with the *apocalyptic* dates. Had I gratuitously thrust myself on the employment, my responsibility for errors would have been heavier. On all the subjects discussed throughout this work, I will always endeavour to qualify myself to speak with a justified confidence. Where it cannot be attained, it will not be professed; but whatever may be due to the cautious scruples of the age, a bashful and timorous hesitation shall not be pretended, where I feel a settled general conviction.

The principal apocalyptic periods with which we are now, directly or indirectly, concerned are as follow:—

The men who have not the mark of the seal of God in their forehead, are *tormented fire months* by some mystic locusts (ix. 5.) It is afterwards specified that these locusts have power, and possibly a separate power, *to hurt men five months*, (ix. 10.)

At a subsequent time, four destroying angels are loosed, prepared to extinguish some community for *an hour and a day and a month and a year*, (ix. 15.)

The next calculation that we find is, that the holy city is to be trodden under foot until the expiration of a period of *forty and two months*, (xi. 2.)

The two witnesses prophesy *a thousand two hundred (and) three score days*, clothed in sackcloth (xi. 3), and dead bodies of them are in public view *three and a half of these days*. (xi. 10.)

A woman is fed and preserved in the wilderness until the expiration of a period of *a thousand, two hundred, and three score days*, or, as it is otherwise expressed, *a time, times, and half a time*. (xii. 6 and 14).

A beast has power given unto him to continue to the expiration of *forty and two months*; and at a time shortly subsequent begins the famous Millennium, or the period of *a thousand years* of purity and bliss.

These are the principal apocalyptic periods; and it may be added, that in the prophecies of

Daniel, mention is twice made of a period, which is termed ‘a time, times, and a half,’ or ‘time, times, and the dividing of a time.’

If we reckon a time to contain, according to the ancient calculation, three hundred and sixty days, or twelve months, these twelve months being, according to the same calculation, months of thirty days, many of these chronological periods will be found to be precisely the same. The thrice-mentioned times, two times, and a half, the time, times, and the dividing of a time, and the twice-mentioned forty and two months, will all be found exactly commensurate with the twice-mentioned one thousand, two hundred, and three score days. The exact coincidence of these times, on the natural and usual calculation of 360 days to the year, and thirty days to the month, and the consideration that for these times, and these times only, are the enemies of God to prosper, form together an irrefragable argument for the propriety of such calculation.

Thus if we calculate three hundred and sixty-five days, with or without the fraction of a day, to the prophetical year, or use any other calculation whatever for the year and *month*, it is impossible to discover how to calculate accordantly the month, the twelfth part of the year; and not only is there the utmost awkwardness when we are put upon the divisions of the years with the appendages, but the periods cannot by any device be brought to the necessary agreement with each other. We shall perceive as we proceed that, in fact, the *dominion* of the beast, the *pollution* of

the city, the *preservation* of the woman, and the *sackcloth-prophesying* of the witnesses, have all indeed the very same antitypical purport; and it is, consequently, necessary that the allotted existence of these powers in their peculiar situations should exactly coincide. Except on the late method of calculation they cannot.

The Spirit, however, as if with the very purpose of precluding the possibility of any reasonable hesitation, dictated to the prophet a double expression for the same symbolized occurrence in the twelfth chapter. We are once informed that the woman is preserved until the end of the 1260 days, again until the end of the time, times, and a half, by which the purport of the *time* is settled beyond possibility of dispute to be three hundred and sixty days. Thus all the expressions concur in pointing out that distinguished period of 1260 days, which is also so conspicuous in the times of the four kingdoms of Daniel, which Mede terms the **SACRED KALANDAR AND GREAT ALMANACK OF PROPHECY.**

The same author has a curious notion respecting the reasons of the peculiar calculation of the *months* to one expression of the term, and the *days* to another. The turn of his idea is, that the temple is trodden and the beasts and locusts ravage by *months*, because all sin and error is of the power of darkness and night, over which the *moon* presides. The pure witnesses on the contrary prophesy by *days*, because light has no fellowship with darkness, and true religion is of the light and day. The detection of a few flaws in

this speculation would be superfluous. What, however, are we to think of the union of day and month in the four destroying angels of the ninth chapter, and what of the woman in the wilderness her appointed days?

The weeks of years were more familiar to the Jewish mind than any other mode of computation; because the ordination of every seventh year for a year of rest had naturally induced the calculation of weeks of years, as well as of days. The universality of such computation appears very strongly from the expression of Daniel, that he had fasted three weeks of *days*, evidently implying a necessity for a distinction from weeks of years. Is it not then remarkable that the weeks, though in Daniel so conspicuous, do not appear in any calculation of these 1260 days? This is a singular circumstance, and narrowly investigated will afford an additional argument for the propriety of the foregoing method. The 1260 days might very easily indeed have been mentioned as 180 weeks; but what a confusion would thus have been introduced! These weeks, instead of being 42 months, at four weeks to the month, would have been 45, and no arithmetical calculation by months or weeks could have made them three years and a half. The days and months, on the contrary, by the omission of the weeks correctly measure the appointed number of years. This observation seems to have strength as a proof that the alleged periods are all the same in the interpretation. Had they been different, the simple introduction of the weeks, the omission of

which is the singularity, would have thrown them for ever apart. Hence again ensues another proof that the times are of 360 days.

No fact, however, is more certain and acknowledged than that in the language of scripture and prophecy a day was in constant acceptation for a year. A very remarkable instance of scriptural correspondence and relation between day and year occurs in Numbers xiv. 34, in the judgment against rebellious Israel. ‘ After the number of ‘ the days, in which ye searched the land, even ‘ forty days (*each day for a year*) shall ye bear ‘ your iniquities, even forty years.’ Many such prophetical periods of days, weeks, and years (*each day for a year*) have, moreover, by common acknowledgment received the most precise fulfilment in the advocated acceptation; and entire success, even presuming that the discovery was at first fortuitous, cannot be a bad guide. But the discovery of the day for the year was not fortuitous; it was in ancient acceptation; and is, moreover, particularly specified in a prophecy of Ez. iv. 4—6. ‘ Lie thou also upon thy left side, ‘ and lay the iniquity of the House of Israel upon ‘ it; *according to the number of the days* that thou ‘ shalt lie upon it, thou shalt bear their iniquity. ‘ For I have laid upon thee *the years* of their ini-‘ quity *according to the number of the days*, three ‘ hundred and ninety days, so shalt thou bear the ‘ iniquity of the House of Israel. And when thou ‘ hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right ‘ side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the ‘ House of Judah forty days: *I have appointed*

'thee each day for a year.' This therefore was the usual scriptural calculation. It appears still more evident in all the particular investigations ; and it will not be necessary to adduce many instances.

In Daniel, a power symbolized by a little horn is to acquire a power to wear out the saints, is to change times and laws, and to gain and exercise a dominion universal, and to prevail for a time, times, and the dividing of a time. The ten-horned Apocalyptic beast makes war with the saints, and overcomes them ; he travels through the whole earth ; acquires a power over *all* kindreds and tongues and nations, so that all serve him and obey him, so that he is adored by all the inhabitants of the earth ; he obtains and exercises a power universal in the space of *forty-two months*. His contemporary and ally brings to pass still more numerous and important events ; and the fortunes of the Adulteress, who in another description rides the ten-horned beast, are within the same space of time still more varied and extraordinary : all nations are drunken with the wine of her fornication ; all kings of the earth commit fornication with her ; and all merchants become rich by trading with her. Now, though the propriety of the *symbol* be not violated by such descriptions, yet it is absolutely impossible to conceive in the *antitype*, that these acts and events could be compressed within the insignificant term of three natural years and a half. This argument would be sufficient, though it stood alone.

The same result affords an argument yet more

forcible, if we attend only to one of the subdivisions of the 1260 days. Within that time the beast slays the symbolical witnesses. Their dead bodies lie unburied, and are not suffered to be put in graves for three and a half of these days. In the course of this term all the people, and kindred and nations and tongues are to see their dead body, and in this time are to rejoice over them, to make merry, and send gifts of congratulation one to another. Now in the mingled host of the represented enemy this is *scarcely* possible; but it is manifestly altogether impossible that in the antitype the nations of all the earth could have done all these things in three or four natural days. In the space of three days and a half how could the news of the victory have been spread over all the earth, how could embassies of congratulation have been sent between the nations. The ambassadors could not have received their powers, nor could the gifts have been prepared in so short a time; and to actions of this nature the calculation of a literal, half day would be absurd. If the Holy Ghost, says Mede, had meant nothing but days, would he have been so precise for half a day?

Again, according to an argument advanced by the same author, within these 1260 days will be found the trumpets and vials. The fifth and sixth trumpets, however, alone make up at least a year and a half, or nearly half the whole 1260 days, which though far too little, if *literally* taken, for the great things prophesied in them, yet what time will they leave for all the other trumpets,

the vials, the plagues? What time alone will the sixth vial require for *preparing* the way of the Kings of the East, for the frogs to go forth unto the kings of the earth, even of the whole world, to *gather* them to the battle? Now as all this gathering takes place towards the end of the 1260 days, and as the great proportion of the days are already appropriated, it is evident that we can allot it no more than *a few days*. But such an universal collection in a few *literal* days is absurd in supposition. There is therefore a presumption, falling little short of positive proof, that these days, whatever time they may be intended to express, cannot be *literal or natural* days. If they cannot then be literal days in the reason of the thing, we are compelled to adopt the alternative, that these days according to the usual, and according to Mede, invariable acceptation in prophecy, are prophetical days, or *years*. That acceptance is, I believe, invariable in Daniel and St. John; and I do not, as will eventually be found, except the instance in Daniel iv.

Beside these indirect proofs, it may be remarked, that even the Papists, whom the consequences nearly concerned, and who would have availed themselves of the slightest plausibility, have not attempted to construe Daniel's seventy weeks otherwise than as weeks of years, those weeks, to which expression the Jewish Sabbatical year probably gave rise, and which, by parity of reason, had induced the expression of a day for a year. By one consent they are weeks of years. Thus the ten days of the Revelation, in which the

Church of Smyrna was under tribulation, is found in the fulfilment to intend the ten years' persecution carried on by Diocletian. We may then venture to assume that the mode of computation used by an author in one passage of his writings, on a particular subject moreover, on the fortunes of communities, will be used by him in all other passages treating of that particular subject. Again we may remark, that the holy city is expressly given to the Gentiles to be trodden by them forty and two months, and no more; whereas we historically know that the literal holy city, as well as the pure Church of which it may be symbolical, has already been defiled and desolated many hundred years above the literal forty-two months, or three years and a half. Under any of the descriptions, if the Church were only to have suffered the three years and a half, she would long have been crowned with triumph and purity; whereas we know she is yet in a very contrary state; and thus once more are the times historically proved to be incapable of literal acceptation.

There are still other reasons, founded on symbolical propriety. All the prophetical symbols are as miniature paintings. As the communities are in symbolical miniature, a witness, for instance, for a whole church, so in accordance must be the *times* of these communities, a day for a year. It would clearly, moreover, have been a gross violation of all propriety to represent a beast, witness, or woman, existing for a thousand or two of years. Yet their antitypical communities must frequently have such existence; and

accordingly such existence is represented, not only without absurdity, but with the strictest propriety, by the necessary device of the year in the day. A city may stand a thousand years: thus, indeed, in the Millennial New Jerusalem there is no violation of propriety; but still as the city cannot be other than symbolical, so neither can the time be other than prophetical. Still stronger reasons might be adduced; but as these depend on assumptions, and concatenations of arguments, rather intricate, it seems preferable to waive them for the present. They would, moreover, be superfluous; since the uniform reason of the case, on whatever side beheld, and the clear usage of the prophetical writers, considered either generally or particularly, are amply sufficient for the proof of the point. The prophetical days are years; the prophetical weeks are weeks or sevens of years; the months are thirties of years, and the times or years are three hundred and sixties, or years of years.

A further question now arises. Allowing these 1260 days to be 1260 years, are they 1260 years composed of 360 days, or natural years of 365*½*? Are they 1260 solar years; or 1241 and 324*½* days, that is 1260 times 360 days?

It may be urged in favour of the latter calculation, that if we estimate the prophetical years at 360 and not 365*½*, so *must* we in consistency the natural; and that accordingly the 1260 are diminished below 1242 years; the 150, under the five months of the fifth trumpet, below 148; the hour, day, month, and year, of the sixth trumpet,

being diminished from 391 years and fifteen days to 385 years and 250 days, must be affected more than five years; and the nicely-calculated appearance of the dead body of the witnesses diminished eighteen days. This method of calculation will thus most intimately affect all ~~or~~ speculations. The subject is therefore deserving of much attention, and must not be dismissed with a mere censure on the awkwardness which, nevertheless, is certainly the consequence of this introduction of the artificial year.

The best collection of observations on this point are to be found in Faber, i. 12 and 13, from whose work I have drawn and epitomized many chronological remarks.

If the force of authority may be allowed to sway us, it may be mentioned, that Mr. Mede, Sir I. Newton, Bp. Newton, Dr. Faber, and almost all the most distinguished commentators upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, have considered the day as a solar year, and not a year of 360 days. Dr. Faber has so well expanded the common and obvious argument, in the 13th and 14th pages of his first volume, that I should counsel every reader of these lines to a reference. It is there incontestably proved, that the Jews, if they did not use solar years, yet must, like other nations under the same or similar necessity, *by intercalation* have supplied the defect. ‘Their month Adar,’ says Mr. Bicheno, ‘they intercalated whenever it was necessary, sometimes even a whole month; and this they were obliged to do to make their feasts of the Passover, Pentecost,

and Tabernacles, happen at their proper seasons.' The Targum of Chron. xii. 32, says of the children of Issachar, that 'they were skilful in the knowledge of times, and wise to fix the beginning of the years; dexterous at setting the new moons, and fixing their feasts at their seasons.' From the exhibition of this ordinary system of intercalation, it will necessarily follow, that, whatever might be the length of *single* Jewish years, a sum of them *collectively* must by presumed intercalation in our present subject be made equal to the corresponding sum of solar years. A single year might *possibly* be reputed to contain no more than 360 days; but unless we calculate numerical prophecies after a manner wholly unknown to the Jews, any *large collective* sum of years, 1260 years for instance, must contain the very same number of days, and therefore be precisely of the same length, as the corresponding sum of natural solar years. If therefore a large number of years be thus calculated, and a consistency of prophetical computation be preserved, a small number of years, or even a single year, must also be understood as a solar year, comprehensive of 365 days and a quarter. This conclusion receives additional strength whenever the small number is specified as a component part of the greater, as the three days and a half of the 1260 days, where the three days and a half must accordingly be three solar years and a half, not 1260, but a little above 1278 days.

I should not be surprised to see it demonstrated, that there is some distinction between

the $\delta\ \tau\nu\alpha\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$, the $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\varphi\varsigma$, as the *time* of 360 days, and the $\tau o\ \tau\tau\omega\varsigma$, as the natural *year* of $365\frac{1}{4}$. This would leave unaffected the time, times, and a half, as 360 days, and would allow the days the more easily to be calculated as $365\frac{1}{4}$. Thus should we be released from every appearance of difficulty.

If any one fail to receive entire satisfaction from these arguments, he may be referred to events which have fulfilled the solar computation and no other. Dr. Faber has thus demonstrated the seventy weeks: the symbolical locusts thus ravaged the precise 150 natural or solar years; and the three years and a half, in which was seen the dead body of the witnesses, will be found in the course of our researches to have been thus fulfilled to a day.

The next question regards the time of the commencement of this Grand Period of affliction. Thus only can we foresee that termination to which we may possibly be drawing very nigh. Now it can have no concern with Pagan persecution, because, in the first place, Pagan persecution cannot perhaps be considered to have ever lasted so long in unbroken continuation as 1260 years; and moreover, it occurs with St. John as an unbroken future time scarcely more than two centuries before Paganism was cast down and the Christian Church established in purity and power. It must, therefore regard some Christian corruptions, since a nominal Christianity has prevailed over the whole face of the Roman earth, the subject of the prophecy.

Christianity, however, in its purity, has long suffered an universal depression and corruption ; has suffered it so long that we must apprehend the days of suffering to be nearly at an end. For twelve hundred years at least, Christianity, generally considered, seems at best to have failed of its proper and full effects on the inhabitants of the earth. As, however, the little horn of Daniel, which wears out the saints for the time, times, and the dividing of a time, arose upon the Roman beast *after* the ten horns, this period cannot begin before the Roman Empire owned the establishment of ten independent kingdoms upon its ancient limits. In the largest range of possibility, the corruption of the faith could not be dated earlier than the beginning of the fourth century ; but when we consider that prophecy can only notice overt legal and national changes, it is impossible to date so early. The corruptions of Christianity received by no means so early a legal establishment to be prophetically cognizable. Moreover, the first of the ten kingdoms was not established until the middle of the fourth, nor the tenth until the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century. The oppressive power, pseudo-christian, which was to rise up *after* these ten kingdoms, could not, therefore, have arisen at the beginning of the sixth century. But as we are already arrived at the year 1813, and as the witnessed faith is still depressed and worn out over the Roman Empire, in which this hostile power is to be found, we may at once perceive that the commencement of this period cannot have been *before* A.D. 553, the *middle* of the sixth

century, and if we yet, as we politically seem, be at a considerable distance from the time of universal emancipation, it may be much after.

No Pagan power, however, arose after that time within the Roman Empire; all the ten kingdoms speedily became Christian. This Power must, therefore, be nominally Christian; yet as wearing out the saints, as speaking blasphemies, and as a part of the beast: it must be in spirit Pagan, in open practice corrupt.

No events, it has been said, are cognizable by prophetical chronology except legal, national overt events; and no legal events form the symbolical ravenous or wild beast, or the corrupt adulteress, except national, overt, *religious* changes under the legal authorities of the Roman Empire. It was shewn that the earliest date which can possibly be assumed for this change is the year 553, which involves the incredible supposition that in the course of the year 1813 the pure Power existing within the Roman Empire shall be finally triumphant in Church and State over all the corrupt contending powers. In fact, however, no such change did take place in 553; nor in any subsequent year can such be found, with whatever accuracy we examine, for a little more than half a century. In the year 606, such legal, overt, national, religious change was effected. In this year (606) the reigning Emperor Phocas declared the Papacy, THE UNIVERSAL BISHOPRIC, the Pope, the RULER AND SUPREME HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCH. Thus were formally given the saints or the religion of the whole Empire into the hands of One Power, which

existed among and against the ten Western horns; and which by the very acceptance demonstrated a portion of the spirit of Antichrist. It is most remarkable that a prophetical stigma on the See of Rome was thus pronounced by Gregory the Great, one who himself occupied the chair before its exaltation into a throne, ‘Ergo fidenter dico, quod quisquis *se universalem sacerdotem* vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ, Anti-christum præcurrit.’ ‘Therefore confidently do I affirm, that whosoever entitles himself *Universal Bishop*, or grasps at the title, in the pride of his heart, he doth forerun Antichrist.’

It is true that the title of Universal Bishop was not novel. It had before been given to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and as a *mere* title had in fact been used by all the Eastern Patriarchs at once: but this use was forbidden by Phocas, when the title was appropriated to Rome. Cardinal Baronius, on the other hand, maintains in effect that the Pope was always the Universal Bishop *de jure*, and only made so by Phocas *de facto*. This making him so *in reality* is precisely the fulfilment of the prophecy. ‘Anno Christi 606to, inductione nonâ, decimo quinto calendas Martias, ex diacono Pontifex Romanus creatus est Bonifacius, ejus nominis tertius. Phocas imperiali edicto sancivit, nomen *Universalis* decere Romanam tantummodo ecclesiam, tanquam quæ caput esset omnium ecclesiarum. Quod quidem hunc Bonifacium Papam tertium ab imperatore Phocâ obtinuisse cum Anastasius bibliothecarius, tum Paulus Diaconus (De gest. Longobard. l. 4.)

tradunt. The peculiarity, however, of the noticed day in which Boniface was created Bishop of Rome, is not of importance. The 1260 days will expire according to the time when he was made Bishop of the world, which might have been towards the end of the year. It was nevertheless one of his first acts to procure the title, and the immediate consequence was the use of the power in the establishment of idolatry and all corruption.

It has been doubted, indeed, ‘ whether such a grant was ever made by Phocas, but, as it appears to me, (says Dr. Faber) without much reason. We know how severely the title of *Universal Bishop* was reprobated by Pope Gregory at the end of the sixth, and at the beginning of the seventh century: we know, likewise, that the title was borne not long afterwards by the Roman Pontiff, and that it was formally confirmed to him by the second Council of Nice, in the year 787. Hence we are certain that it cannot have been assumed very late in the seventh century. Now Baronius tells us that it was assumed in the year 606, giving for his authorities Anastasius and Paulus Diaconus; the former of whom flourished *in the ninth*, and the latter *in the eighth* century: and I can see no reason why we should refuse to credit an assertion, which places the assumption of the title *about* the very time, when we must unavoidably suppose it to have been assumed. In short, if the account be a forgery, it is both one of the most unnecessary and ill-contrived forgeries that ever

‘ was executed : unnecessary, because the Pope
‘ had been solemnly declared *Universal Bishop* by
‘ the second Council of Nice in the year 787 ; ill-
‘ contrived, because the wily defenders of the Pa-
‘ pacy must have departed very far from their
‘ wonted subtlety to deduce falsely the grant in
‘ question from such an infamous monster as Pho-
‘ cas. Had it never been made by any Emperor,
‘ and had they been disposed to forge it for the
‘ purpose of aggrandizing the Papacy, they would
‘ surely have pitched upon a more reputable pa-
‘ tron than Phocas ; and would have ascribed it
‘ (as they did to Constantine the original grant of
‘ St. Peter’s patrimony) not to a murderous usur-
‘ per, but to some Emperor, whose character
‘ stood high in the Christian world. On these
‘ grounds I give credit to the assertions of Paulus
‘ Diaconus and Anastasius, neither of whom lived
‘ very long after the time when the grant is said to
‘ have been made : and probably on the same
‘ grounds “the most learned writers, and those who
“ are most remarkable for their knowledge of an-
“ tiquity,” as it is observed by Mosheim, “ are
“ generally agreed” that the title of Universal
‘ Bishop was by Phocas — conferred upon
‘ Boniface.’

The general agreement of various writers on this point is well stated by Dr. Brett from Bp. Carlton’s book of jurisdiction, regal, episcopal, and papal, cap. vi. p. 82, 83. ‘ Phocas,’ he says, ‘ *fixed* Boniface in that universal pastorship, ‘ which the Roman See claims and exercises over
‘ the other Sees of Christendom at this day : and

‘ this as Baronius and Estius, so these following historians assert. I will begin with Paulus Diaconus, who saith, Phocas statuit sedem Ecclesiae Romanæ, ut caput et omnium ecclesiarum. Abbas Usburgensis says the same: to wit, that Phocas ordained, that the See of the Roman Apostolical Church should be the head of all churches. Platina says that Boniface III. agrees with them herein, though he declares it in different words: Bonifacius obtinuit a Phocâ, ut sedes beati apostoli, quæ *est* caput omnium ecclesiarum, ita *diceretur* et *haberetur* ab omnibus. Blondus saith, Phocas antistitem Romanum principem episcoporum omnium constituit. And Nauclerus saith, Phocas ad universum orbem dimissâ sanctione, constituit, ut Romanæ ecclesiae, Romanoque Pontifici omnes urbes ecclesiæ obedirent. And now our Romanists believe, as others have declared before them, that the Roman chair had this primacy by divine right antecedent to Phocas’ decree, by which *he only engaged to make it law in the Empire.*’ (Independent Power of the Church not Romish, p. 268, 269, 270.) Thus Illyricus maintained against Bellarmine, that Antichrist was born, when Phocas in the year 606 granted to the Roman Pontiff that he should be called the head of the whole Church. The Cardinal, denying the validity of the conclusion, readily *admitted the truth of the premises.* (Faber’s Diss. i. 279—281, note.)

The conclusion from Dr. Faber’s reasonings, which in the course of his work he strongly fortifies by arguments here inadmissible, is, in my

mind, irrefragable. This grand term commenced in the year 606: the Church of Christ will therefore cease in the year 1866 to suffer either depression or corruption. This is enough for the present. As I should by no means conceive it an offence, should any writer condescend to borrow a few pages from this work, I shall not offer any further apology for the free use which I have made of Dr. Faber's collection of speculations. In his computation of dates and arrangement of the kalendar, a very difficult but most essential part of history, whether fulfilled or anticipated, he may, I think, be considered almost unexceptionable; and obliged as I was to treat briefly of the same subjects, it would have betrayed an idle and shallow vanity to have attempted a mere alteration of his words.

The course of events will cause a partial resumption of this subject. When we have gained a few more points of action, we shall be enabled to enter upon the important consideration of the end, and the time of the end. On this branch of the chronological arrangement I do indeed believe that Dr. Faber has greatly erred. The conclusion, as far as we are now concerned, is that the prophetical days are natural or solar years; and that about half a century will finish the gloomy period of 1260 years, in which we live; which began in the year 606; which has continued through twelve hundred years of thick darkness and affliction; and which is to give place to the magnificent contrast of a world for ever happy, and a Christianity for ever pure.

CHAP. I.

1—3, THE TITLE AND AUTHOR; 4—7, THE EPISTOLARY FORM OF TRANSMITTING THE PROPHECY; 8—20, THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DELIVERY OF THE REVELATION OF JESUS CHRIST BY HIS MESSENGER, SYMBOLICAL IN ALL ITS CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SEPTIFORM PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF ASIA.

"To look at him, who formed us and redeemed,
So glorious once, though now so disesteemed."

Couper L. 163.

THese remarks may be opened by the observation that this last Revelation which has been made to us, is the key, consummation, and index, of former prophecies. The peculiar exactness of the divisions and subdivisions, the accuracy of the chronology, and fulness of description, make it an open plan into which may be inserted, with chronological precision, all the other detached, undated prophecies, which relate to the Christian dispensation.

The Apocalyptic prophecies are principally carried on under the chronological division of seven seals. The seventh seal is subdivided into seven trumpets; the seventh trumpet into seven vials; the seventh vial into seven plagues: so that the seventh seal contains all the trumpets, the vials, and the plagues, and whatever glorious events may be consequent upon them all, beyond the

irruption of Gog and Magog even to the literal return of our Lord Jesus. As in the more ancient prophets we may be satisfied of many events, which are to happen at *some* time, so St. John, in his chronological course, hinting at least at all these, and often using the very words of former prophets, fixes and dates them all. This very arrangement of events, this very wonderful capability of division into septenaries, is alone a full proof that God rules. It is not that the events are thus ingeniously arranged on the prophetic page ; the providence of God fashioned the events themselves into septenaries, and not the Prophet, their history. It is probable that no ingenuity could thus have comprised the Chinese annals, or those of any other Empire, into the mystic sevens and tens. The Roman Empire alone, the only Christian Empire, and subject of Christian prophecy, can boast so miraculous an order in her eventful history.

Verse 1. “ A * Revelation of Jesus Christ which
“ God gave unto him, to shew unto his ser-
“ vants things which must shortly come to
“ pass.”

It is remarkable that the Man Jesus Christ is not represented as of himself knowing the future, but has the revelation from God. It should be

* St. Paul's conversion was also in consequence of a *Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Gal. i. 12 and 16) whom it pleased God to reveal in him. Nevertheless in that revelation our Lord was not visible to St. Paul.

remembered that the spirit of heresy was in the first ages more apt to suggest doubts respecting the humanity than the divinity of the perfect God, perfect Man, Christ Jesus. For this reason, we may presume, our Saviour uniformly termed himself the Son of Man ; although his disciples never presumed to address or name him by that title, but acknowledged him to be, what he also was, the Son of the Living God. In his human nature he asked, ‘ Why callest thou me good ? there is none good but one, that is God ; ’ and declared that of some great day and hour knew no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. In the same spirit he, who as God is omniscient, a partaker of the divine Providence, is yet, as Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, here represented as receiving the knowledge of futurity, from God, the Father. The things which must shortly come to pass are moreover represented as being really shewn to his servants. How then in diving into futurity are we obnoxious to the charge of presumption ? How are these things shewn to God’s servants if it be criminal to look into them ? It were mockery to speak to us in a language which we are forbidden to attempt to understand.

“ And he signified, sending by his angel to his
2. “ servant John ; who bare record of the Word
“ of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ,
“ whatsoever he saw.”

The word which we translate “ *signified*, ” implies

in its strict import *a shadowing out by signs* or symbols. We are here therefore at the very outset directed, to understand the Revelation itself, not in that literal sense with which we should regard the introductory words before us, or even the last chapters of Daniel, but as a mysterious system of signs and shadows, similar to Daniel's famous image, or his four beasts. This Revelation, given to Jesus Christ, was from him, by his angel, given to his servant John; that same John who bare record in the Gospel, which has his name, and in his Epistles to the Churches, of the Word of God and of the Baptist, the great Witness or Testimony to Jesus Christ, and of the things indeed which he himself had seen.

The novelty of this sense is no impeachment of its correctness. “*In the beginning was the Word, who was God, and was made flesh.*” “*John bare testimony of him,*” (the very same original expression, John i. 19 and 32.) “*Our hands have handled the Word of life.*” “*This is the disciple which testifieth (or bears record) of these things and wrote these things.*” (John xxi. 24.)

3. “*Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words, of the prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein; the time indeed is at hand.*”

The distinction between *those* that hear, and *him* that readeth, arose from the state of literature before the invention of printing, when not only

manuscripts were scarce, and in few hands, but the art of reading by no means common. As there are not any moral precepts, strictly speaking, in the whole book of Revelation, the keeping those things which are written therein, must intend the observance of the words, whatever they may hereafter be found to intend.

So far we have been employed upon the circumstances connected with the *title* of the prophecy. It is not an essential part of the book, which is written in an epistolary form, as is commanded, and which epistle occupies from the fourth verse inclusive to the end. The introductory form of the Epistle, in which St. John included the prophecy, is no proper part of the prophecy; and as the literal language will cease, and the symbolical commence and continue, whenever the prophecy properly begins, we must ascertain the exact point. Now in the first verse it is declared that Jesus Christ sends his angel to shew the prophecy. When, therefore, it is declared that Jesus Christ sends his angel, *that* person who does shew the prophecies is the angel, and not the Christ. When, moreover, this angel is introduced, then begins the Prophecy, and, in consequence, the language of symbols. The following four verses, therefore, however highly figurative, are not properly symbolical; and indeed if they were, it would be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the unity of symbols, to understand even ‘Jesus Christ’ as a symbol of some other person, or body. As this is a Revelation of what at that time was *shortly* to be

done, and as the time was at hand, we are thus informed that the vision embraces the times immediately succeeding the apostolic age. Daniel (ii. 28, 29, 45) exhibited what was to be done in the *last* days, and these last days are declared by St. John to have commenced in his time. ‘It is the last time.’ (1 John ii. 18). The prophecies of Daniel and St. John must, therefore, be frequently parallel.

4. “ John to the seven churches which are in
“ Asia : Grace *be* unto you, and peace from
“ **Him** which is, and which was, and which is
“ to come, and from the seven Spirits which
5. “ are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ,
“ the witness, the faithful, the first-born of
“ the dead, and the prince of the kings of the
“ earth.”

As we have not yet left the more literal language, St. John pronounces a blessing from the literal and immutable Jehovah, of Ex. iii. 14, or to preserve the characteristics of the originals from the ‘Is, was, and to come;’ from the seven Spirits before his throne, and from Jesus Christ, the witness to the people (Is. lv. 4), the first-born of every creature (Col. i. 15), and the first-fruits from the dead (1 Cor. xv. 23), a leader and commander to the people, the prince of the kingdoms of heaven and earth. Our Lord is thus described to us, first, as he who was the suffering witness, next in his triumph over death for himself and his followers, and lastly in his state of exaltation

as King of Kings. That the first and last are persons of the Godhead is obvious; but who are these seven Spirits? Independent on many insuperable objections to the idea that they are seven *Archangels*, it may pertinently be asked, where is the Holy Spirit, who in the apostolic benedictions is invariably joined with the Father and the Son? Wherefore this omission of the Spirit, whose dignity, and the value of whose grace and peace it would be blasphemy to put in comparison with that of his creatures, the angels. The angels, moreover, could not with any more propriety be thus joined with any persons of the Godhead; and there consequently at once appears the strongest presumption that these seven Spirits, if they do not symbolize, yet must figure out the Holy Ghost. When we, therefore, proceed to consider on the principles of Revelation, the character and abode and offices of the Holy Spirit of God, the investigated expression will appear to be scarcely more than an ordinary metaphor.

Our Saviour went to send to us the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Ghost, to be with us for ever, *to abide with us upon earth for ever*; even as *God, the Son*, was upon earth during the few years of his earthly life. But where and how upon earth? St. Paul addressing the Church of Corinth, ‘Know ye not that *ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* Know ye not that *the body of you is the temple of the Holy Ghost in you?* Ye are the temple of the Living God.’ To the Church at Ephesus, one of the

churches to which the Revelation is sent, “*Ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.*” To the Church of Rome, “*Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of Christ dwelleth in you.*” The Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost, is thus ordinarily described, as in such a manner abiding upon earth, as dwelling so intimately and peculiarly in *the Churches*, as to be embodied in them. Where then is the straining of the metaphor, when St. John, about to address *the seven Churches of Asia*, wishes them peace *from the Holy Spirit, which dwelleth in the seven*, from the Holy Ghost divided, as we might say, into the seven spirits before the Father’s throne ; from the Father and the Son, and no less from the Holy Ghost, in whose name every individual is baptized ; and who is the soul of the body of every Church? Simple and obvious as is this interpretation, I cannot but admire and regret that so many learned men have amused themselves and their readers by dissertations upon this mystic number of perfection. The postponement of God the Son to God the Holy Ghost is in order to the more natural and easy continuation ; and is paralleled by the formation of the sentences in Heb. xii. 23, and 1 Tim. iii. 16.

“ Unto him that loveth us, and hath washed
6. “ us from our sins in his blood, and hath made
“ us a kingdom, priests unto the God, and his
“ his Father, to him be the glory and the do-
7. “ minion for ever and ever. Amen. Behold, he
“ cometh with the clouds; and every eye shall

“ see him, and they also who pierced him;
“ and all kindreds of the earth shall wail be-
“ cause of him. Even so, Amen.”

The kings and priests of the common version, or the more emphatic sense of *kingdom of the priests*, adopted by Griesbach, accords with Ex. xix. 5, *the kingdom of priests, the holy nation*, St. Peter’s *royal priesthood*; and we seem to be informed at the very outset that the apocalyptic kingdom is always to be understood in an ecclesiastical sense, as the kingdom *in this world*, but not *of this world*. This will subsequently appear to be a point of the first importance, and not subject to any uncertainty. *The God* preceding the Father in the sixth verse, may be the God, the Holy Ghost: the copulative *and* may be changed, as it is by Dean Woodhouse, into *even*. He hath made us a priestly kingdom, or a royal priesthood, to God, *even* his Father.

If St. John were banished into Patmos by Domitian, in whose reign he saw the vision, which he seems afterwards to have written (“ *I was in the island*”) upon his return to Ephesus at Domitian’s death in A. D. 96, the fall of Jerusalem took place in a preceding reign. The coming of our Lord must in this case either be understood of his last and literal advent, or of his symbolical advent at the approaching battle of God Almighty, nor can I at all see how the fall of Jerusalem can in any case be implicated. There is, nevertheless, a manifest allusion to the legislative assembly of the Jews, representative of the Jewish nation; and

a reference to the words of our Saviour, that they should see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. That advent is, I believe, symbolical of the approaching triumph of his religion ; and it does not therefore appear that the Jews are to be converted, until not only their restoration be effected but the symbolical battle be past. As it does not, however, seem that any point of immediate importance is at stake, and as anticipation might be detrimental, I am content to leave the question a while undecided. The great moral, as Doddridge intimates, may be included in this verse, that though there should be great opposition made against the cause and kingdom of Christ, yet it should be utterly in vain. His kingdom shall triumph, and his opponents mourn. This, however, is vague. A cloud, nevertheless, is the authorized symbol of a nation ; a king or prince, of a church ; heaven, of establishment and authority. We may gather, moreover, from Zechariah xii. 10, that “the seeing of him” involves *a conversion* even of those who pierced him. The kingdom of the Church of Christ has not yet come ; is not yet established on many mighty nations ; the Jews and the unbelieving world have not yet been generally converted ; the earth has not yet wailed because of him. It must nevertheless be acknowledged that some distinguished authors, and particularly Sir Isaac Newton, dating the Apocalypse before the destruction of Jerusalem, have conceived that this expression denotes the temporal calamities which befel the Jews. Many

moreover assert that the banishment of St. John to Patmos is merely a tradition borrowed from this passage,

8. “I am the Alpha and the Omega, *the * beginning and the ending*, saith the Lord, which
- “is, and which was, and which is to come, the
9. “Almighty: (I, John, who * *also* am your brother, and fellow-sharer in the tribulation, and
- “kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was
- “in the isle that is called Patmos for the word
- “of the God, and for the testimony of Jesus
10. “*Christ**. I was in the Spirit on the Lord’s
- “day, and I heard behind me a voice, loud
11. “as of a trumpet, saying, *I † am Alpha and*
- “*Omega, the first and the last:)* and, What
- “thou seest, write in a book, and send to the
- “seven churches * *which are in Asia*; in Ephesus, and in Smyrna, and in Pergamos, and
- “in Thyatira, and in Sardis, and in Philadelphia, and in Loadicea.”

By the punctuation I have intended to express the proper arrangement of the passage before us, on the admission of the common text. St. John, for the more dignified introduction of his subject, and for the better expression of his astonishment at the sudden sound of the mighty voice, gives us first what he heard, ‘*I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Almighty.*’ He then recurs to himself

* Griesbach rejects the words in Italics,

† Griesbach doubts.

with a modest implication of his own unworthiness to be favoured with such a vision. ‘I, John, who am *also* your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and expectation of Jesus Christ, heard these words, *‘I am Alpha and Omega, &c. &c.’*’ If this repetition of the description be, on Griesbach’s authority, omitted, the arrangement, though less forcible, will, however, be more clear. The first description will be joined to the last paragraph, according, indeed, to the approved manuscript division, the paragraph under consideration will commence with ‘I, John, &c.’ and the assumption of the glorious titles will be deferred to the conclusion of the chapter. The sense will not, however, be affected.

Here then is arrived the messenger of Jesus Christ, who is *to signify in the symbolical language*; and here therefore begins the language of symbols. Henceforward no word may be understood in a literal, if of a nature to bear the assumption of a *significative* or symbolical sense. This angel is, therefore, strictly symbolical; and symbolical, as will hereafter be found, of the Catholic church visible, as it appeared in the province of Asia, which St. John was now spiritually superintending after the martyrdom of Timothy. The Church of the first century of the Christian era is accordingly here personified by a mighty Being, bearing, and surrounded by, representations of his churches upon earth. The Church seems to be symbolized under the idea of its great Head and High Priest. It is not the Christ, shadowed out by the Being, but the

Church, which is personified by an allusion to its Lord.

It has appeared to me unaccountable that this vision should ever have been thought to express the literal Deity, whom no man can see and live, or even to shadow out the manhood of the literal Jesus. That the vision can neither relate to the Father nor the Holy Ghost is most obvious, because the Being '*was dead.*' It cannot be the *literal* Jesus; because *he* ascended with his human body, and is the same unto the end of the world. Neither can it be our Lord, who is thus *shadowed out*; because it is expressly said both in chap. i. 1, and in xxii. 16, that he sends *his messenger* to exhibit the future to his servants. No messenger can be pointed out except this *angel*; and our Lord intimating that he would *send*, certainly never expressed that he would come in person. An attempt to explain away the messenger as a figure of speech, would still be unsuccessful; for if this Great First-last be actually our Lord himself, or his representative, wherefore this fiction of the angel? But again in chap. xxi. one of the angels who had the seven vials comes to St. John to shew him the wife of the Lamb, and disclaiming the too submissive reverence, which was paid by St. John, declares himself *a fellow-servant, sent for the testimony of Jesus*, and to shew what must be done. 'Worship,' he says, '*not me, but God.*' Notwithstanding this very same angel immediately exclaims, '*I come quickly, I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and*

'the last.' And very soon afterwards our Lord himself is heard to profess, ‘I, Jesus, have *sent my angel* to testify unto you these things in the ‘churches.’ It consequently, appears, not only that this Alpha and Omega, to whomsoever the name be applied, is *a commissioned messenger, and altogether distinct from him*, who sent him, even Jesus Christ, but again that he is not a proper subject of adoration, and is not, therefore, either of the other persons of the Godhead.

His whole attire, indeed, and all his attributes are so expressive, as to shew most plainly that whatever be the thing, or whoever be the person of the nearest resemblance, he is symbolical of something further. Let us first throw the description into one point of view, and subsequently consider the declarations of the Being respecting himself.

13. “I saw seven candlesticks golden; and in
“the midst of the seven candlesticks (walking,
“ii. 1,) a likeness to a Son of man, clothed
“with a garment down to the foot, and girt
14. “about the breasts with a golden girdle. His
“head and his hair were white, like wool
“which is as white as snow; and his eyes
15. “were as a flame of fire; and his feet like
“unto fine brass, as if in a furnace burned;
“and his voice as the voice of many waters.
“And (iii. 1) he had the seven Spirits of God.
16. “And he had in his right hand seven stars;
“and out of his mouth a sword, two-edged
“sharp, coming forth; and his countenance

18. “as the Sun shineth in his strength. And he
“had the keys of hell and of death, the key
“(iii. 7) of David; so that he openeth and no
“man shutteth, and shutteth and no man
“openeth.”

Now the Being declared that the candlesticks were *the churches*. The symbol is, therefore, ecclesiastical, and this is confirmed by the keys, a symbol of commissioned power and trust, proverbially ecclesiastical. Thus the Jews gave authority to explain the Law and the Prophets by the delivery of a key; and to this custom allusion seems to have been made, when the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or the Church, were promised to Peter, that whatsoever he should bind or loose upon earth, should be bound or loosed in heaven. Now as our Lord gave these keys to his Church, and to none other, the keys became a very badge, and distinctive mark; and hence alone it would appear that this Being must be a personification of a Church. The possession, therefore, of the keys in the compound symbol must again express that the bearer (before proved not to be the Master but the Messenger), cannot be the literal Christ, and must be that Church of Christ, to which its Lord gave *from himself* the keys of the kingdom of heaven. I refrain from any allusion to the parallel of Is. xxii. 22; because little that is satisfactory could thence be deduced without more consideration than can here be properly bestowed. In Isaiah, however, it is obvious that ‘the key of the house

of David' is laid, by no means upon the Christ, but upon the shoulders of Eliakin, the Son of Hilkiah. In the keys of hell and of death we have perhaps an early intimation that the idea of the symbolical life and death is in all cases involved in their connection with this Being, symbolical of the pure church.

Let us now consider the expression of the "One, like unto a Son of Man." A very little attention to the tenth chapter of Daniel will convince us that St. John thence draws his imagery. *The messenger* in Daniel is a certain man clothed in fine linen, with a girdle of fine gold ; whose face was as the appearance of lightning ; and his eyes as lamps of fire ; and his arms and feet like to polished brass ; and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. The most striking conformity is preserved by St. John. Nevertheless this Being in Daniel is not by any means *God* ; nor is his nature expressed under the title of Son of Man, which has since become equivocal in consequence of the assumption by our Saviour, but it is 'a certain man, Gabriel by name, one like 'unto the similitude of the sons of men, one 'like the appearance of the sons of men.' Hence alone the conclusion might be deduced, that this Being of St. John is not the Son of Man, as applied to Christ by *himself*, but never by others. He is, simply, one like the sons of men, denoting perhaps that this vision is the Church visible, always among the sons of men, composed of the sons of men. There is, however, a still more striking quotation to be introduced from Daniel,

which, although at first sight it may seem to make against the system, does in fact most strongly support it. ‘I saw, and behold, one like the ‘Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven and ‘came to the Antient of days, and they brought him ‘near before him ;’ and there was given him an everlasting and universal dominion. This description is thus most remarkably interpreted by the angel, ‘*The saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.*’ And again, ‘the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to *the people of the saints* of the most High ; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.’ What now has become of the idea of the literal Son of Man?

This Being is the First and the Last, the Church from the beginning to the end of time. If any thing more peculiar be intended by the First and the Last, it may be presumed that it intends the two dispensations under which the Church has subsisted ; the church prior and posterior to the advent of its Lord ; the Church founded upon the Patriarchs, the church founded upon the Apostles, Jesus Christ the corner-stone. But as this subject must receive a lengthened discussion within chap. xi, the proper elucidation of the twofold nature of the Christian Church will to that chapter be deferred.

The garment worn by the Jewish High-priest is conspicuous on the symbol. His outer robe, the robe of the Ephod, is described by the very

same term * in the LXX, of Exodus xxviii. 4, 31, and also in xxix, the adjective for the substantive. This garment was made ‘*all of blue*’; and this piece of information, which we have from Exodus xxviii. 31, will perfect for us the agreement between the messengers of the prophecies. The only apparent variation was, that the body of one was like a beryl, while the other was clothed with the holy garment. Now as Daniel’s angel was also clothed in this *blue* robe of the Ephod, thus his body also was as the beryl. The girdle, golden or fringed with gold, has of course the same allusion to the High-priest; and a power ecclesiastical is still evidently symbolized. The girdles were a kind of sash, which, says Doddridge, first went over the neck like a tippet, were crossed on the breast, and then went round † the lower part of the breast two or three times. The gold will eventually be found to be always in a good sense, whether to the girdle, the candlesticks, the cup, or the city. Wherefore Daniel’s angel was girded round the *loins*, I cannot determine.

The exceeding whiteness of his head and hairs, a particularity unspecified by Daniel, denotes the exceeding purity of the Church at the time of the delivery of the prophecy: the piercing brightness of his eyes will come under speedy consideration. Respecting the feet like unto fine brass, and as burned in a furnace, as I have not formed opinions satisfactory to myself, I shall not intrude any crude suggestions upon others. The remark

* πεδηρος.

† Chap. xv. 6.

that they denote mere stability, is far too loose; and the idea that the brass may allude to Nebuchadnezzar's famous image, and this Asiatic part of the brazen Empire of Greece, is, I fear, far too refined. In this circumstance, however, Daniel's angel also agrees, as he does in the loud voice as the sound of waters, as '*the voice of a multitude.*' The candlesticks are plainly declared to be the churches. We do not require therefore any further information: it may not however be entirely superfluous to mention, that Artemidorus states a lamp-stand (commonly rendered candlestick in our translation) to symbolize *a wife*; and for this plain reason, he whimsically adds: 'Because a lamp or the light thereof signifies the master of the house and superintendant, the lamp-stand signifies his wife, over whom he rules and presides.'

This certainly seems somewhat too little or too much refined, but our business is not to make a language, but to read one already made. This may account, however, for the correspondence of the candlestick to the bride and the wife of the Lamb, each symbolizing the Church.

'And he had the seven spirits of God.' How could either the literal or the symbolized Christ or his angel, be said to have *seven archangels*? whereas the living church hath always *the Holy Ghost* indispensable to its existence. The Lamb, hereafter in heaven, will be found to have the same by his *seven eyes*, which are interpreted the seven Spirits of God. The Spirit of God, thus expressed under the seven spirits, is, as it were, the soul of the symbolical body. It cannot escape

remark that *this angel* in the two next chapters *speaks* to the churches, but at the end of every speech there is a command to listen to what *the Spirit saith*. Thus are the seven spirits again proved to be the One Spirit. The Church, which hath for its soul and principle of life and thought the seven spirits of God, hath the Holy Ghost.

‘ And he had in his right hand seven stars ‘ which are the angels of the seven churches,’ and which must be understood literally of the angels, or bishops, or clergy, or representatives of the churches; because the seven candlesticks are represented as the literal seven churches. It would be superfluous to shew from ecclesiastical history that the primitive fathers of the church were as familiarly called angels, as we now term them bishops. The word angel properly denotes, according to a correct observation of Dean Woodhouse, one who bears a deputed office or commission; and it rarely occurs in the sense in which we understand the English word *angel*, or a celestial messenger, without the addition of the words *God or Lord*, either expressed, or from the context evidently understood.

In this vision there is, therefore, mention of candlesticks, stars, and eyes as a flame of fire. The candlesticks are the churches; and the stars are the clergy. As then it would violate symbolical propriety, that in one vision there should be two symbols of the same thing, the eyes can neither be the churches nor their governors, nor can therefore contain any idea of *episcopal inspection*. But an eye is well known to have been the ancient

symbol of wisdom, * and wisdom on an ecclesiastical subject must be that spiritual wisdom which is from the indwelling *Holy Spirit*. Thus in exact correspondence the seven eyes (v. 6) are directly declared to be *the seven spirits*. Thus again the little horn of Daniel, vii. 8, has *a worldly wisdom* in the eyes like *the eyes of a man*. By this passage the horn, or ecclesiastical kingdom, is again shewn to be distinct from the eye. The eye, therefore, is the Spirit of God, discernable in the holiness of heart and life.

‘And out of his mouth a sword two-edged sharp ‘coming forth.’ He shall smite the earth, says Isaiah, with *the rod of his mouth*, and with *the breath of his lips* shall he slay the wicked. (Is. xi. 4). The distinction is clear between the sword of the hand and that of the mouth. This Being has hands in which the more literal sword of war might have been aptly held. The riders on the red, and pale horses, of the sixth chapter have the sword of the hand, while this peculiar two-edged sword of the mouth, proceeds only from powers of manifest purity, as in the present passage, in the 12th and 16th verses of the next chapter, and in the 15th and 21st of the sixteenth. In fact, the mouth at once irresistibly advances the idea of something taught; and the symbol of the mouth has been long understood as expressive of a lawgiver, civil or sacred. As the sword

* ‘Tot oculi multitudinem denotant hominum oculatissimorum, et scientiae mysteriorum Dei plenissimorum—Alae ‘oculatae zelum cum scientia et fide conjunctum.’ Mede, Book III.

of the mouth is sharp, we may add effect and power to the teaching. As it is two-edged, it has some remarkable two-fold distinction. Here then in this weapon we have attained the idea of a pure doctrinal form of instruction in two conspicuous parts, enforced by the pure church, and at that time about to be wielded with effect. We cannot surely fail to discern in this type the written word of God, the Holy Bible, composed of the Old and New Testaments, answering to the church pre-christian and post-christian, the two-edged weapon which has subdued so many millions to the obedience of the pure faith.

I forbear to attempt the confirmation of this interpretation by any reference to Eph. vi. 17, in which is found ‘the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God.’ A reference to a passage, itself scarcely understood, would not indeed afford much confirmation; and it must be remarked, that in that passage it seems to be the Spirit, and not the sword of the Spirit, *which (neuter)* is the word of God. Still less applicable is the cited text of Heb. iv. 12, where the *λόγος*, or more literal Word of God, is only *compared* as sharper than any two-edged sword. (See comment on xix. 15.)

But the following objection may be started. If this sword be the Gospel, how could it be said to punish and avenge by fighting against the declining church of Pergamos? The removal of the candlestick out of the place is clearly a punishment; but how it is a punishment to be subdued by the Bible? It is true indeed that we are obliged to hold to the idea of something preached,

which something must be true and pure; yet at the same time no difficulty need be found in allowing that this Gospel may be terrible to a declining church. The Bible may be in many cases a stumbling block to those who will not receive it as a stepping stone. It is liable to be perverted, fatally perverted; and the blessing abused may become a curse, a sword even in this sense of vengeance. When again we consider that the Church of Pergamos was declining into the most abominable spiritual and carnal vices, committing fornication and idolatry, against which, both in the Old and New Testament, we read the strongest *prophetic denunciations*; do we not perceive the written word of God fighting against her for vengeance?

When therefore this sword fights *against a Christian church*, it may and must be avenging; while on the other hand wielded by a Christian church, and fighting against the enemies of God, it becomes a sword of mercy; it deprives them of their idolatrous life; and consequently converts them to the truth. The Primitive Church never used any literal sword; but foolishness of preaching put down the mighty. The sword of the mouth prevailed and shall prevail over the sword of the hand. (See 2 Thess. ii. 8.)

His countenance, shining as the Sun in his strength, reminds us of the countenances of Moses and our Lord, after their immediate communion with the divine nature; and points out this pure Church to be also glorious, but glorious rather from its purity than its might.. This glo-

rious symbolical Personage is without a crown. He who goes forth on the white horse of chap. vi. wears a crown: the Word of God of the xixth, and the woman of the xiith chapter, have both their crowns. These were nationally *established*; while this primitive church was yet struggling against all the principalities and powers of the world.

We are now to take the declarations of the angel respecting himself.

8. “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the
“beginning and the ending, saith the Lord.”
- “God, which is, and which was, and
17. “which is to come, the Almighty. I am
18. “the first and the last, and the living one
“and I was dead (who was dead, and I
“lived, ii. 8.) and behold alive am I for
- iii. 14. “ever and ever, the Amen, the witness,
“the faithful and true, the beginning of
“the creation of the God.”

A part of these declarations we have incidentally anticipated. The allusion is plainly to the Eternal Son of God: the symbol has a designed resemblance to its founder and Lord. It will be perceived, however, that all the marks coincide in the history of the church. The *first* dispensation and the *last* dispensation are two dispensations of one same Christian Church. That Church, in both its parts, was dead at the death of its Lord; when the first or Jewish dispensation, all its presignifying purposes being accomplished,

passed away, and when all the disciples of Christ, who were of the new dispensation, had either forsaken him and fled, or formally denied him. Thus were dead at one point of time both the pre-christian and post-christian churches. But the gates of hell shall never more prevail. ‘Behold it is alive for evermore, the Amen, the witness, the faithful and true, the beginning of the creation of God.’ What is the symbolical creation of God, but the regeneration; and who regenerates except the Church by the ministry of the sacrament of baptism: the Church, the origin of regeneration? The classical and biblical student must be aware that the active sense, thus attributed to the word translated “*beginning*,” needs neither justification nor apology. It may be of future consequence to remark, that this First-last is decidedly not in heaven, but on the earth.

Thus have we with much brevity come to a conclusion of this much-abused chapter. The angel bade St. John write the things which he had seen, and the things which were, and the things which should be thereafter. It is only with the last that we are immediately concerned. Let us therefore proceed to *the hereafter*, as we find it in the ivth and vth chapters.

CHAP. IV.

1, THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, ASCENDED INTO ESTABLISHMENT UNDER CONSTANTINE; 2—5, SYMBOLICAL DESCRIPTION OF THIS STATE OF THE CHURCH; 6—8, THE FOUR PATRIARCHATES; 9—11, THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

" About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son.

Par. Lost, Book iii.

IT is with hesitation that these researches are undertaken into the interpretation of this chapter; because I am not satisfied that the attempt will be found more than partially successful. All prior systems, if systems they could be called, which possessed no consistency, there need be little hesitation in rejecting altogether as merely conjectural. As to the present, too many circumstances concur to permit a doubt in my mind upon the correctness of the outline. Such shall be plainly exhibited, and I trust that the ideas which will be suggested, may by others be strengthened and perfected.

It will be obvious, that, while the particulars vary, the spirit of the whole ensuing description accords with that of the first chapter of Ezekiel.

Ezekiel wants, however, the twenty-four enthroned elders, and the seven Spirits, and the Lamb with the seven horns and seven eyes; while his living creatures, in partial agreement, as far as the character of the faces, entirely disagree in the number of the wings. The living ones of Ezekiel had each four wings: St. John increases the number to six. The visions, therefore, are not by any means the same; although from their relation the fulfilment, or interpretation, of the one may elucidate the other. Commentators have hitherto agreed to interpret both the one and the other as significant of the literal Deity: they have construed both these symbols, differing so essentially from each other, as representative of the same unchangeable Godhead. As this interpretation, however, cannot with any degree of propriety be given to both, so the very similarity of the two visions seems to prove that it cannot belong to either; and that we must consequently look in another direction. Upon ascertaining the one, we might give a fair conjecture respecting the other. Let us then proceed upon St. John, after remarking one significant circumstance in the living ones of Ezekiel: they were the abode of the Holy Spirit; ‘whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went.’ But it was proved in the preceding remarks that the Spirit is upon earth for ever, and abiding embodied *in the Churches*. Hence, therefore, it should appear that these Ezekiel’s living creatures must represent the Churches at some period of their history, past, present, or future. The accordant,

yet varying symbol of St. John must, therefore, also represent the Church, but at some other period, and under other circumstances. The regular independent examination of St. John need not, however, be thus anticipated.

V. 1. “After this I looked, and, behold, a door
“*was* opened in heaven: and the first voice
“which I heard, *was*, as it were, of a trum-
“pet talking with me; which * said, Come
“up hither, and I will shew thee things which
“must be hereafter.”

It will be found throughout the Revelation that the introduction of the ‘*after this*,’ so far from being disjunctive, is invariably and strongly conjunctive. It implies an immediate succession of a component part. Mede observes that it is *never* used, except when that which follows in the narration, follows also in order of time. This remark will receive confirmation from the present instance.

It should be made an invariable rule to inspect and examine very minutely whenever there is perceived a little insertion in Italics in our Bible version. In our present subject, every thing that is most valuable may be made to appear to stand or fall, by the insertion of a word, apparently inconsiderable. In this instance I have to protest against both the first and the second italic ‘*was*’ as being destructive of the true sense, which is as follows:—

* λέγων for λέγεται, Griesbach.

1. “ After these things I saw, and, behold, a door *having been opened* in heaven: and the voice (the first which I heard as of a trumpet talking with me) saying, Come up hither, and, &c. &c. &c.”

The first voice was the voice of the symbolical Messenger of the first chapter, and who had just ceased to speak in the third, and to call attention to what *the Spirit* said. At the end of his address to the last of the seven churches, immediately after the animating exhortation that they should strive to overcome, *as he had overcome, and had been, therefore, set down with his Father on the Throne*, while St. John was writing the uniform call, ‘ He that hath an ear, let him hear, &c. &c.’ the Great Being, so lately upon earth, had risen to a throne in heaven. He had suddenly, as it must appear, ascended into heaven by the door *having been opened*; and with his well-known voice began again to discourse with the Prophet.

“ These, as they change, Almighty Father, these,
Are but the varied God.”

St. John, as it will be shewn, expresses his astonishment at the sudden change by the word ‘ *Behold*;’ he had himself intimated the afflicted state of the Church, by saying with lowly submission, that he was a partaker of the tribulation and patient expectation of Jesus Christ. The Church symbolized in the last chapters was not in heaven, but on earth, not in prosperity but in

adversity ; and now, because it has overcome, it is suddenly risen into the heaven of establishment. As this angel, symbolical of the Church, was thus at one time on earth, and another in heaven, it appears that the pure Church may either be in heaven or on earth, according to circumstances. The heaven therefore neither can denote purity, nor limit the symbol to events ecclesiastical ; but is the proper symbol of authority. In the primitive ages, the Church was struggling against all the powers of the world ; whereas it had now risen into the security of establishment. Here then, in the age of Constantine, after the removal of the seat of Empire, before the middle of the fourth century, begins the *hereafter* of which St. John was to prophesy.

I am aware that by this early introduction of the time of Constantine, whole hosts of interpreters are at once attacked ; but long and attentive consideration of the prophecies and their commentators, will inevitably teach a man that there is nothing very criminal or suspicious in the rejection at any time of a former interpretation. Strong necessity will soon wear away any scrupulous bashfulness. For my own part, as my present plan forbids my consideration of the chapters immediately successive, I am scarcely able even to produce my justification ; it may nevertheless be found perhaps in scattered passages through the following pages. Any opugners are called upon, however, for an explanation, on any other plan, of the position of the first vision on earth, the present, in heaven.

2. "And immediately I was in *the* spirit : and,
" behold, a throne was set in the heaven, and
3. "upon the throne one sitting. And he sitting
" (* was) like in appearance to a jasper and a
" sardine stone ; and there was a rainbow
" round about the throne, like in appearance
4. "unto an emerald. And round about the
" throne, thrones twenty-four ; and upon the
" thrones twenty-four elders sitting, clothed in
" raiments white, and upon their heads crowns
" golden."

The original expression that the throne was set in the heaven, implies that it was *but now* set. Again, therefore, it was not the throne of the literal Deity, whose throne is unchangeable and *from everlasting*. But that we may gain a proper idea of the mystical assemblage, it will be needful, with as much brevity as is consistent with proper information, to enter upon an exposition of the situation of the Jewish elders in the synagogue, and of the Christian priests and bishops in the fabrics of the Primitive Churches. From the riches of Bingham this exposition will be drawn ; and I would be understood to refer to his luminous expositions of the subject in i. 235 and 128, and ii. 186.

In the Jewish synagogue, according to Maimonides, at the upper end, looking towards the holy land or the temple, the Law was placed in the wall in an arch : and on each side the Elders

* Griesbach doubts.

were seated in a semi-circle, and, as we may gather, half encompassing the altar, which had four horns, which, therefore, was entirely insulated, so that it was possible to go round it. This doubtless, too, was the ancient posture of the thrones of the Bishop and Presbyters in the Christian Church, as they are represented in the several models. The Communion-table or Altar was not close to the wall at the upper end, but at some little distance from it, so that the Bishop's throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void space to encompass or surround the altar. Thus, Synesius says, he would fly into the Church and encompass the altar. And Eusebius, when having first spoken of the thrones of the Bishop and Presbyters in the Church of Paulinus, adds, 'That he set the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the middle,' that is, in the middle of the Bema or Sanctuary, at such a distance from the upper end, as that the *Synthronus*, the seats of the Bishop and Presbyters, might be behind it. Thus also St. Austin says, 'The table of the Lord stood in the middle.' And in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, it is also represented in such a posture as that it might be encompassed. I will wash my hands in innocency, says the Psalmist, and so will I compass thine Altar. (Bingham's Or. Ecc. Book viii. c. 6). In the great Synedrion, or consistory of Israel, says Mede, the *pater judicii* had his *assessores*, sitting upon seats placed semicircle-wise before him, from his right hand to his left. The Antient

of Days of Daniel is as the pater consistorii ; and *the judgment set*, is the whole Sanhedrim.

At the dedication of Solomon's temple, all the singing Levites in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets. (2 Chr. v. 12).

These quotations on the ceremonials of the Jewish churches and rites are thus brought forward with the Christian ; because the primitive Christians manifestly copied them. The court of the Presbyters was so similar indeed, that it was called the Sanhedrim ; and our mystical assemblage in heaven will be found to be a picture drawn from both.

At the upper end of the chancel was a semicircular building, in which was the Bishop's throne, with the thrones of the presbyters in a semi-circle above, and beyond the altar, which in the more stately churches was overshadowed with a canopy in the form of a little turret upon four pillars at each corner of the altar. The seats of the bishop and presbyters were joined together, and all called thrones ; but the bishop's, in the middle, a little exalted and richly covered, was commonly called the High Throne, and the Middle Throne ; the presbyters the second thrones ; and as to the deacons, they were never allowed the privilege of sitting, they stood by the priests and bishop, while all the congregation were in the body of the Church. Ignatius, in mention of the ecclesiastical order, always joins

the Bishop and Presbyters as presiding over the Church, *the one in the place of God and Jesus Christ, and the other as the great council of God in the room of the Apostles.* He speaks of the Bishop presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Council of Apostles. So in his Epistle to the Trallians, he bids them ‘be subject to the Presbytery as to ‘the Apostles of Jesus Christ,’ and again, ‘Re-‘verence the Presbyters as the Council of God ‘and the united company of Apostles.’

Now then let us take part of the assemblage, which we find in St. John. There is the voice of trumpets, and a throne, and a great one who sat upon it, and round about the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four presbyters or priests sitting, clothed in white raiment; and a golden altar before the throne with four horns, and a multitude standing before it in white robes, singing and harping. The remarkable accordance of the literal and symbolical descriptions, the latter even to a very transcript of the former, most strongly intimate that a *Church* must be symbolized. Having thus far advanced, we may ascertain from the peculiar adjuncts, at what precise era the Church was so circumstanced, as to be thus fitly represented. It will be remembered that the symbol of the Church is in continual variation according to its situation. It is different in Ezekiel, which seems yet unfulfilled, different again in the first chapter of St. John, which signifies the situation of the Church in the primitive ages, different from both in the pre-

sent description, which relates to the age of Constantine; and it varies indeed, as we shall find, throughout the whole *Apocalypse*.

The first point respects him who sat upon the throne, who is characterized, partly from a very strong parallel in *Isaiah vi.* as the Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come, who liveth for ever and ever, who created and sustains all things, and to whom is wished, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power.

The literal mention of the Lord God must at once inform us, on the principles of the symbolical language, that the literal Lord God is not intended. The idea may seem too bold, but it is just; and the alternative on the literal plan that the twenty-four elders are absolutely *sitting* in the immediate presence of the Divinity with *crowns upon their heads*, is indeed much bolder still.

As the vision must therefore be understood symbolically, and as it has been shewn that it must be understood of the Church at some period of its history, it has consequently a near connection with the subject of the first chapter. Whatever alteration then ensued in the state of the Church within the course of the three first centuries, we may reasonably expect to find in the visions some points of accordance.

According to this expectation they do accord, and very remarkably; insomuch that a Being, agreeing in all his attributes with him, who lately only *walked* among the seven candlesticks, as the Church in its infancy, is now exalted to a Throne.

Surrounded by every imaginable circumstance of glory, he now summons up the prophet to view the *hereafter*. The prophet accordingly beholds the heaven, which with its inhabitants symbolizes the Church triumphant under Constantine; and there he is permitted to read the written history of the Church, extending from Constantine to the end of time.

At the same time it is indisputable that it was *the Son* who at first symbolized the Church; whereas at present it is *the Father*. As these are in a literal sense One, so are they, and must they be *one* in the symbolical: he is set down with his Father on his throne. As the literal Son came down to earth, but not the Father, so whenever the Church is represented as upon earth, and subject to persecution, then with the utmost propriety is symbolically brought forward the Son, perfect God, perfect man; and on the other hand, whenever the Church is in authority and establishment, and consequently in heaven, the symbolical idea is immediately changed: the Son is absorbed into the Father: the Son ascends and sits with his Father on his throne; and the symbol proceeds under the idea of *the invisible Godhead*. The idea of the symbolical Creation, which was shewn to be the creation of that new man which is born of God in baptismal regeneration, was lately applied to the Church *as to the Son*; now it is applied to the same Church as to the Father, the Creator and Sustainer.

The next objects are the precious stones.
“ He sitting (*was*) like in appearance to a jas-

"per and a sardine stone," The jasper (Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxvii.) is a pellucid watery jem, and found of various colours, green, azure, sea-green, blue, purple, and sometimes white, approaching to a chrystral. The sardine is also semi-transparent, but, on the other hand, is of a red colour, and never like the jasper. As therefore the colours of these stones are different, and there is only a partial agreement in the transparency, how can he be like both of them?

The Son, the Great High-Priest, was clothed in the first chapter with the long robe of the Ephod, and this same garment may be here also intended. The predominant colour of the jasper is *blue*; and the robe of the Ephod "*all of blue*." But in another description of the Ephod, it is said to be made of blue and "*of scarlet*," and that upon the hem of it should be pomegranates *of scarlet*. Here then, although the jasper be the first or predominant colour, yet is there *the sardine* on the fringed hem of the garment; and thus the whole robe might without impropriety be said to bear a likeness to a jasper and a sardine stone. It is obvious that the *garment* must be the likeness to which there is allusion.

There may be something in this interpretation; but there may also be as much, or possibly more, in the remark that the jasper and sardine (Ex. xxviii. 17 and 20) are the *first and last stones* of the twelve upon the High-Priest's breast-plate. In accordance with the prophetical conciseness, these, therefore, may be inclusive of *all the twelve*; since we should mark the very eye of a prophet;

and wherever it does but glance, examine with the most attentive accuracy.

Here then is the latter dispensation of the church under decided allusion to the former. ‘The rainbow about the throne’ may denote both the clouds that were about to be brought over the earth, and the brighter days which should succeed. The emerald was also a conspicuous stone on the sacred breast-plate; yet I do not know why this rainbow is ‘like in appearance unto an emerald.’ Hitherto we have attained no satisfactory conclusion, for the attention of commentators has chiefly been turned upon the pleasing green emerald colour, which, *they say*, is predominant in the rainbow. The Indian Interpreter, however, explains the white colour of good-will and favour; the red of joy, from success in war, and being a terror to enemies; the blue of joy, from gentleness and moderation; the green of great renown, from constancy, faith, and piety. Is the rainbow a composition of all these? ‘The rainbow has been thought,’ says Mr. Bicheno, ‘a most apt symbol of peace, because its rundel is always turned from the earth, and it has no string. The ancients among the heathen always considered it as a symbol of good; and it may be especially so considered, because the attendant of pleasant and fruitful showers.’ Something, I am convinced, has yet escaped us. All this seems much too vague.

As the great Being of the first chapter was the First and the Last, the Church before and after the coming of its Lord, so in this second vision

are not only the twelve representative Patriarchs of the first dispensation, but the twelve representative Apostles of the last; and these twenty-four elders with their Lord form one symbolical company of the Church general. This two-fold nature of the Church, already alluded to, will in the sequel receive a more full consideration. I am not, for my own part, inclined to give much attention to the idea that there is here any allusion to the heads of the *four and twenty* courses in the Jewish Church.

5. "And out of the throne proceed lightnings,
"and voices, and thunderings."

It may be again remarked that, a cloud being a nation, the thunderings and lightnings, the voices and actions of the clouds, symbolize the proceedings of the nations. These lightnings and voices and thunderings we shall hereafter find in the same manner proceeding from the throne, and open for discussion.

"And seven lamps of fire burning before his
"throne, which are the seven Spirits of the
"God."

These are not as in chap. i. 12, the candlesticks, or the lamp-stands, but the lamps, not the receptacles of light, but the lights themselves. The propriety of the seven spirits, the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne will receive discussion in the sixth verse of the next

chapter; but it may be incidentally remarked, from Mr. Bicheno, that torches of fire before a throne, are the symbols of the royal presence, it being an ancient custom for kings to have fire carried before them, as a mark of honour and empire; and which, when they went to war, were used to give the signal of battle. This observation may not, however, be in strict propriety applicable to our subject.

“ And before the throne as a sea glassy, like
“ unto chrystal.”

Did this passage stand alone, we might have been left in doubt, whether the idea of this symbolical sea was drawn from the laver, or sea as it was called, in the temple, or from the literal ocean. Perhaps, indeed, our conjectures would rather have been biassed towards the former idea. When however we compare the present passage with xv. 2, in which a similar sea is undoubtedly intended, but *upon which stand immense multitudes*, the error instantly appears. Few or none could thus have stood on the laver of the temple; and the symbol before us must, therefore, be taken from the natural sea, implying by its waves, says Dr. Faber, a state of agitation, and tumult, and conflict. If this idea be correct, it appears from this sea before the throne, that the Church, although in authority, is yet, as it actually was in the days of Constantine, upon the waves of agitation and conflict. In whatever apparent commotion, however, it was nevertheless a sea

of glass; and this* may finely shew the church under Constantine, apparently tempest-tost, but in actual and stable security. It will nevertheless appear, I believe, when the discussion is resumed in the course of our researches, that this idea of the sea is exaggerated. Unless the waves be specified, we have as much right to the idea of a calm, as of a tempestuous sea. A sea symbolizes a great Nation or Empire; and upon this sea, pure as glass, and fixed by miracle, as it were, into a rock of chrystral, stands the pure church, as our Saviour and his apostle stood of old upon the sea of Galilee.

“ And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne were four living ones, full of eyes before and behind.”

We now come to a part of the subject which has been considered of such difficulty that almost all commentators have attempted to elude it by the convenient declaration, that these four living creatures are a symbol of Deity! But why, asks Dr. Hales, should the Deity praise himself? How, indeed, they are the symbol of Deity, how to be reconciled with the other God on the throne, before whom they worship, and with the Lamb whom they worship, and with any one of the circumstances, it has not been attempted to explain. We are not, therefore, guilty of too great audacity in an immediate and total rejection of this wild and visionary suggestion. Another idea, that they are angels or archangels, is still

less worthy of attention. In the ninth verse of the next chapter, they declare themselves redeemed by the blood of the Lamb out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation; and in the eleventh verse they are by name distinguished from the angels. Our unfortunate translation into ‘beasts’ has been dropped, and the term ‘*living ones*’ will be invariably used in the continuation of these remarks. Both Plato and Aristotle apply the Greek word, even to the divine nature. (Woodhouse, 106).

But these living creatures, if they be neither divine, nor belonging to any of the company in the literal heaven, must yet have their signification. Now, in the first place, they are in the *very midst* of the throne, and *round about* the throne. In the midst of the throne, however, sat one upon it, and round about the throne sat the twenty-four elders, and stood the multitude of angels. These four living ones, in the precise situation of the mystic company, must, therefore, if not identified, be at least most intimately connected with that company which was shewn to symbolize the Church. Thus by a seeming usurpation of the attributes of him on the throne, the voice of one of the living ones (vi. i) is as the thunder from the throne, out of which it proceeded. The four living creatures must, therefore, in some sense, symbolize the same Church; or must at least have the closest connection. Thus Ezekiel, in his parallel vision of the Church at some other point of chronology, exhibits only the four beasts, animated by the Spirit, and affords neither the

twenty-four elders; nor any similar symbolical expression.

As the Church under Constantine must therefore be in some sense exhibited by these four living ones, let us turn to another part of the consideration, and enquire what was the actual state or formation of the Church general at that time. It was divided into *four great Patriarchates*, extending over the far greater part of the Roman Empire, to which the Christian Church had become nearly commensurate. The seven Asiatic churches were not, however, at this time included under the authority of any Patriarch, nor indeed until the Council of Chalcedon of the year 451, when they were put into the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. In similar independent situations were very many churches. If, therefore, it may be supposed that it was wished to symbolize the Church in this state, it must have been effected by a grand compound symbol, of representatives for the four Patriarchates, seven signs for the seven united churches of Asia, who long continued their bond of union, and a general expression of angels for those unspecified churches, which were neither of signal importance, nor included under any Patriarchate.

Now as the Church is in establishment, there appears a necessity that the Patriarchates, if symbolized, should be *in heaven*; and a strong probability that, apparently so much more worthy of a place in prophecy than the seven churches of Asia, they must be symbolized somewhere.

Thus then have I not a doubt that they are in-

tended by the four living creatures; thus, as it were, identified, or at least most closely connected with the throne and the twenty-four thrones, and the company ; thus in the midst of the throne, and around the throne, and with their twenty-four wings, possibly symbolical, like the twenty-four elders, of the twelve Patriarchs and twelve Apostles, the former and latter dispensation. The thrones alone and their company might have expressed the state of the Church in the age of Constantine after the removal of the seat of Empire. But this symbol was in its nature uniform and would not bend with circumstances ; and therefore as the subject was to lead St. John through many centuries, the symbol was so to be prepared, that it might be capable of being varied in correspondence with the state of the Church. It was so to be constructed as, by its adjuncts and circumstances, to be capable of the expression of every particular time of prophecy. Thus the Angel walked upon earth amidst the seven candlesticks to express the church, or a great branch of it, in the age of St. John. Thus the four living creatures were not seen until the Church was in the heaven of establishment : while the seven candlesticks and Spirits appear the same, both before and after the establishment. In historical accordance, the four Patriarchates were not all founded until the Church was in establishment, and were posterior to the seven churches of Asia. After this vision, however, we find no mention at all either of the seven candlesticks, or spirits, or stars, or horns. The

seven churches of Asia were absorbed into one of the Patriarchates: the state of the Church was altered; and this part of the symbol vanishes. Thus too, for a length of time, we cease to see or hear of the living creatures and their twenty-four wings; although we have frequent descriptions of the heavenly assemblage, and, as at the end of the eleventh chapter, find particularized the twenty-four elders.

It is true that all the Patriarchates are at this day in nominal existence; but, corrupted as they are to the very core, the Church can scarcely be said at present to live in them. How far there is an exception for the Patriarchate of Rome, will hereafter appear; for once indeed, *one* of the four living ones, the Patriarchate of Rome as I conceive, by giving all the seven vials of the last trumpet to the seven angels, expresses that from this one symbolized territory should all those evils proceed. At the re-appearance of all in xix. 4, after the battle of Armagedon, we may gather from the text as well as from parallel prophecies, that they are once more become members of the Christian Church, not in word only but in Spirit. Here, perhaps, at their re-appearance, will be fulfilled and understood Ezekiel's symbolical painting, in which, besides other variations, they have not twenty-four wings, but only sixteen. Upon the remarkable descriptions in Is. vi. and Zech. vi. I dare not at present dilate. The clear comprehension of this typical heaven and its inhabitants, will give us much insight into the hitherto undivulged mysteries, of the mighty

angel with the little book, of the ascension of the witnesses and the man-child, and of the warfare of the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, the True and Faithful Word of God.

But before we proceed, let us consult the page of the historian for an account of the four signified Patriarchates.

Three Prelates had, before the time of Constantine, according to Mosheim (vol. i.) enjoyed pre-eminence over the rest of the Episcopal order, viz. the Bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria; and to these the Bishop of Constantinople was added, when the Imperial residence was transferred to that city. These four Prelates answered to the four Praetorian Prefects, created by Constantine; and it is possible that, in this very century, they were distinguished by the Jewish title of Patriarchs. Thus was the Bishop of Constantinople, who was not before so much as a Metropolitan, but subject to the Primate of Heraclea in Thrace, advanced to Patriarchal Power in the Church. And two General Councils confirmed him in the possession of this newly acquired power.

Again, Constantine the Great, by removing the seat of the empire to *Byzantium*, and building the city of Constantinople, thus raised up, in the Bishop of this new metropolis, a formidable rival to the Roman Pontiff. For, as the Emperor, in order to render Constantinople a second Rome, enriched it with all the rights and privileges, honours, and ornaments, of the ancient capital of the world, so its Bishop, whose dignity and

rank were measured by the magnificence of the new city, and its eminence, as the august residence of the Emperor, was vested with an equal degree of dignity with the Bishop of Rome, and claimed a superiority over all the rest of the Episcopal order. This was confirmed by a council held at Constantinople in the year 381, by the authority of Theodosius the Great, when the Bishop of that city was placed, by the third canon of that council, in the first rank after the Bishop of Rome, and consequently, above those of Alexandria and Antioch. The celebrated John Chrysostom extended still further the privileges of that see, and submitted to its jurisdiction all Thrace, Asia, and Pontus.

But the four living ones of Ezekiel were animated and moved by the Spirit. St. John's living ones, according to the interpretation above given, and in accordance with the other vision, may also be expected to be the abode of the Spirit. Not finding, however, four Spirits, like the seven of the first chapter, we find the Spirit nevertheless, although under a different sign. "*They are full of eyes before and behind,*" and as we find from a correct version and punctuation of the eighth verse, '*around and within.*' Thus are they in every part full of eyes. The expression is very peculiar, inasmuch as there is not a single part of the living ones, which is not a part of some eye. But of *the seven eyes* we have attained the purport; and indeed in the succeeding chapter they are plainly declared to be the seven spirits of God. These eyes, therefore, of the four living

ones, for we may never depart from an ascertained interpretation, must be significant of the Spirit. As the Spirit of God filled the living ones of Ezekiel, so fills it in every part the living ones of St. John.

7. “And the living one the first, * like to a lion,
“ and the second living one like to a steer, and
“ the third living one having † the face ‡ as of a
8. “ man, and the fourth living one like to an
“ eagle flying ; and the four living ones having
“ each of them wings six, around and within
“ are full of eyes, and rest have they not, by
“ day and by night, saying, Holy, holy, holy,
“ the Lord God, the Almighty, which was,
9. “ and which is, and which is to come. And
“ whilst the living ones give glory and honour
“ and thanksgiving to the sitter on the throne,
10. “ the living for ever and ever, fall down the
“ twenty-four elders before the sitter on the
“ throne, and worship the living for ever and
“ ever, and cast their crowns before the throne,
11. “ saying, Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive
“ the glory, and the honour, and the power : be-
“ cause thou hast created all these things,
“ and through thy will they were, and were
“ created.”

A little observation of this descriptive scenery, as given in our version, will detect a slight, but important, inaccuracy. The elders are clearly supposed to be sometimes sitting on their thrones

* Schleusneri, Lexicon, in voc *Maryas*.

† The aspect.—Woodhouse. ‡ Griesbach doubts.

with the crowns of their royal priesthood upon their heads, and falling down only occasionally to worship * and cast their crowns before the throne. But our version expresses that they thus worship when the living ones give honour and glory ; and the living ones are said to have no rest by day or by night giving this honour. It should therefore seem that the elders are always prostrate, and never sat for one moment on their throne, nor wore for one moment the crowns which St. John saw upon their heads. The sense will, however, appear by changing the *when* into *whilst*, which is at least as authorized a translation, and limiting the day and night. *Whilst, as long as*, the living ones give honour, so long exactly, and no longer, do the elders give honour. Here again appears a strong and evident connexion between the living ones and the elders ; and an intimation in plain terms, that although at this period they were, day and night, in honour and dishonour, worshipping in purity, yet that such was not by any means always the case. Their zeal might be subject to grow cold ; and their success in the rapid propagation of the Gospel was not always to be uniform.

Conceiving then, that the idea of the four living ones typifying the four Patriarchates is establish-

* Vide quod de ejusmodi more apud Gentiles memorat interpres Eschyli, ad eum locum *Septem contra Thebas*, πετὴν καὶ τεφίων . . . ποτὲ ταῦθι μήδομεν ἐπι γῆς, οὐ νυν, τραπεσσαι ἐπι λιτανίαις περὶ ἡμῶν ἀντων καὶ της πόλεως ; Quando in terram conjiciemus coronas, nisi nunc, cum ad preces convertimur, et pro nobis, et pro urbe ?

ed beyond a doubt; it remains to comment on their order and several appearances: ‘the first like a lion, the second like a steer, the third with the aspect of a man, and the fourth like an eagle flying.’

The Patriarchates were of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. ‘Three prelates,’ as was quoted from Mosheim, ‘had, before this, enjoyed a certain degree of pre-eminence over the rest of the Episcopal order, and to these the Bishop of Constantinople was added.’

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was, subsequently, in the fifth century, taken out of the Patriarchate of Antioch. The order of the institution of the four first Patriarchates is not clear, but ‘Antioch and Alexandria were as early as any,’ says Bingham (vol. 2.); Rome succeeded; and it is certain that Constantinople came last. Whether, however, this order of numbers express indeed the order of institution, does not seem clear.

The first living one was like a lion; and it is at least probable that Antioch must have owned its Patriarchate before Alexandria. This extended over the old Babylonian Empire, which for some wise and sufficient reasons, was incontrovertibly represented to Daniel by the symbol of a Lion. Jeremiah also represented the Lion (*of Babylon*) coming up from his thicket, the destroyer of the Gentiles on his way. The likeness of a Lion is thus an apt expression for this Babylonian Patriarchate of Antioch. From this range of country proceeded the two armies of lion-like destroyers, as described in the eighth and seventeenth verses

of the ninth chapter; and from this Babylonian territory, as we shall find in the next chapter, proceeded also the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

When we remember how long the heifer had been adored in Egypt, so that it had become the very badge of their nation—‘Egypt is like a very “fair heifer,” (Jer. xlvi, 20.) it seems by no means improbable that the Patriarchate of Alexandria, extending principally over this Egypt, so as to be termed the *Diæcesis Ægyptiaca*, should be represented by the living one, like the young and vigorous steer. One day, with this calf, is the Lion to lie down.

Rome had carried to perfection the mythological system of deified men. Willing to admit any remarkable human personage into her crowded Pantheon, she yet refused to deify the brutes. In her whole existence as a Pagan nation, she had embraced, matured, strengthened, and extended that idolatrous system which she received from Heathen Greece, and which as Christian she has renewed. As therefore it was correct to represent the Alexandrian Patriarchate like her worshipped heifer, so is it to represent the third or proper Roman Patriarchate as having the aspect of a man. Thus too has Daniel’s little horn the eyes, like the eyes, or face of a man; and this horn incontrovertibly denotes that temporal sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff which arose on the ruins of three of the invading nations.

At this time the seat of Roman dominion was in the new city of Constantinople. Nothing but *the seat of Empire* had been changed. It was the

true Roman Empire, wherever within the Roman dominions the metropolis might have been situated. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, the fourth living one, is consequently represented by the famous standard, the acknowledged symbol of the Roman Empire, the almost worshipped eagle of her Jupiter. Would it be thought too great a refinement to interpret the act of “flying” as the translation of the Empire from Rome to Byzantium? Certainly no Empire has so often changed its seat; but I should forbear a loose anticipation of what in the sequel may perhaps be demonstrated.

The first, however, was like a Lion, the second like a heifer, the fourth like an eagle, but we are not told what the third was like; only that it had the face as a man. There must be something in this, unless the Greek term for the face signify the whole appearance, or aspect, as it sometimes does. Yet even in this case why not have used the more brief and more accordant expression, “*like a man?*” The solution may be found in the consideration that the Roman Patriarchate had *almost* a claim to the likeness of the eagle. If the body of the Roman Patriarchate were to have been like any thing, it must have been likened to the eagle. But in that case how could the Eastern Roman Patriarchate have been delineated? The symbol of the eagle was more strongly claimed by this Eastern legal representative of the translated Empire. St. John therefore, in this strait, takes no notice of the body of the Roman Patriarchate (which yet he must have seen in the vision, and

which must perhaps have likewise been that *of the eagle*) but walks in the steps of his predecessor Daniel, whose little horn, afterwards situated on the same territory, had the eyes of a man, and represents it with another of its characters, *the face of a man*. As Babylon might have worshipped the Lion, as Egypt did worship the heifer, and were so represented, Rome, which loved to deify the human nature, was represented as having *the face of a man*. This little incidental peculiarity confirms the general interpretation.

I will now suggest that the given interpretation of the twenty-four wings is not, in my mind, by any means satisfactory. There are many reasons wherefore they cannot be fairly understood of the Patriarchs and the Apostles, besides the extreme awkwardness of such an interpretation, and besides the glaring breach of the obvious rule that there cannot in one group of painting be two distinct symbols of the same persons. Were they, as they have been interpreted, twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, standing emblems of the two dispensations, they would interfere with, or annul the other emblem of the twenty-four elders; and, moreover, it might not be easy or possible, to assign an excuse for the variation in Ezekiel to sixteen wings. The actual number of the representatives of the Patriarch and Apostles must be invariable as in the elders. The variation cannot possibly be accounted for on this system; and the consequence is, I apprehend, that the wings may only remain elders, until a better explanation be found. Could we now find that each Patriarchate contained six so

signal divisions, as to merit the appellation of the six wings, the discovery might be valuable. I have found such in three of them; and my failure in the fourth may probably arise from my own insufficiency, and the obscurity that has arisen from the constant fluctuations in territorial jurisdiction.

The Patriarchate of Antioch contained, according to the learned Bingham, six Provinces. ‘The Romans divided it into *six Provinces*: Syria prima, Syria secunda, Phoenicia prima, Phœnicia secunda (vel Libani), Theodosias Euphratensis (otherwise called Hagiopolis), and Comagene.’ Here are the six wings of the first living one.

‘The Primate of Alexandria was not metropolitan of a single Province, but of all the Provinces of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; in which there were at least *six large Provinces*.’ This was the Diœcesis Aegyptiaca, which consisted of *six large Provinces*; four in Egypt, Thebais, Arcadia, Augstanica, and Aegyptus, properly so called; Lybia inferior, and Lybia superior.’ Here have we the six wings of the mystic steer.

When first Constantinople was advanced to the Patriarchate, as in this time of our vision it had only the Diocese of Thrace: ‘The Patriarch of Constantinople, when he was first advanced by the 2d general council, had only the single diocese of Thrace assigned him.’ ‘His care,’ says Theodoret, extended over Constantinople and Thrace, which consisted of *six Provinces*.’ ‘The six Provinces of the Thracian Diocese, Europa, Thracia, Hœnemontis, Rhodope, Mœsia secunda,

‘and Scythia,’ says again Bingham, ‘first offer themselves to consideration.’ Here then are, obviously, the six wings of the flying eagle.

And now are we bound to relinquish this firm ground, on the supposition that we cannot ascertain the exact six wings of the Roman Patriarchate? Most certainly not. Though Bingham and others represent *seven* Provinces under the proper Patriarch of Rome, besides the islands, I dare so far interpret history by prophecy as to be fully convinced, that in this time of the vision, immediately at the translation of the Empire, there must have been only *six*. The reckoned seven are—1, Tuscia and Umbria; 2, Valeria; 3, Picenum Suburbicarium; 4, Latium and Campania; 5, Samnium; 6, Apulia and Calabria; 7, Lucania and Brutia.

May we not, have we not a right to suppose that in this very difficult calculation of territorial jurisdiction, two of these Provinces have been made out of one, by mistakes arising from the mutations they were constantly undergoing after the time of Constantine? Have we not then *here also* the six wings of the third living one, who had the face, as a man?

That *the wings* of Daniel’s leopard *must* be interpreted in this manner, and no other, is sufficiently notorious.

It may be proper to notice the *traditional* description of the ensigns of the four divisions of tribes in the camp of Israel. The standard of Judah, with the two other tribes in the Eastern division, is said to have been a Lion; an heifer, steer, or ox,

the standard of Ephraim with his two tribes, in the western division; the face as a man was the standard of Reuben in the south; and Dan, with his two accompanying tribes in the north, completed by the eagle the resemblance of our mystic assemblage. To this tradition, probably derived from Ezekiel, and compared with Numbers i. and ii. I can say little. If Ezekiel indeed thence drew his description, as is certainly very probable, the tradition becomes of some importance, as it shews the Christian Church represented by the Jewish. And it is well known that all the Jewish actions, rites, and ceremonies, had a prophetical allusion to the post-christian church. Dr. Waterland's gloss upon the four beasts is, that they represent the '*Christian clergy*'; Mede, who is followed by Bp. Newton and many others, interpreting in his own way the four beasts to be the universal congregation of Christians, unwittingly countenances this idea of the four Patriarchates. I cannot say indeed, that I would follow him fully and without hesitation in his idea of the uniform parity between this whole assemblage and the Camp of Israel. Yet it is to be accurately observed, that the tabernacle, the throne of God, was in the midst of the camp: immediately around were the Priests and the Levites in their *twenty-four* courses, under the twenty-four princes, and to the four quarters of heaven were spread the *four* divisions of the 12 tribes. The camp of Israel may have been the prototype of the order of the Jewish and Christian Hierarchies, and be thus *remotely* connected with our subject. Hales,

following Mede, speaks of the whole congregation of the faithful *in the four quarters of the world*, or the Catholic Church, who daily offer up praises and thanksgiving to God.

On the scheme now proposed, the whole Church of heaven and earth, triumphant and militant, is here represented. The invariable part of the compound symbol, the heavenly thrones and the elders shadow out the Church triumphant; and these may with propriety accompany the militant Church, whatever its varying aspect below. The Church general is the one body of Christ, composed both of the quick and the dead; and both are thus represented. The propriety of the appearance of the twenty-four elders in the course of the prophecy before the re-appearance of the Living ones, will thus be apparent.

The divisions of chapters is unfortunate: we should plainly continue without a pause. It cannot be denied, says Mede, but the division of chapters, especially in the New Testament, being but of human institution, is sometimes so ill ordered, that it doth much prejudice the Reader in understanding the meaning of the Holy Ghost.

CHAP. V.

1—7, THE DELIVERY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

“ Ambrosial fragrance filled
All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.”

Par. Lost, i.

1. “ And I saw in the right hand of him that
“ sat on the throne a book written within and
“ on the back, sealed with seals seven.”

IT is evident that this chapter is a successive part of the description began in the last. In the right hand of the great Being is a sealed book. In *general* accordance with the symbolical language, a book held in the hand of any Personage must be the history of him that holds it. In *particular* accordance, we may strongly allege, that as the Being of the first chapter, who symbolized the seven Asiatic churches, held in his right hand the seven stars, interpreted as the seven angels, or clergy, of the seven churches, and in immediate consequence continues to foretel what should come on these, the seven churches, of which he himself was partially the representative, so must *this book in the right hand* contain the pro-

phetical annals of the Being, which holds it, the history of the Christian Church Catholic. If, again, we argue from the ground attained, viz. that the Being symbolizes the Church, it is absolutely impossible to interpret the book in the right hand of the Church, other than its own history. The uniformity of the right hand possibly denotes, with the rainbow, a certain good ; although it may arise from apparent evil. These points will receive elucidation in our consideration of the tenth chapter.

This book, according perhaps to a more correct punctuation, was written within, and on the back side sealed with seven distinct seals, to denote so many distinguished periods of prophecy. The ordinary sense, however, is paralleled by Juvenal (Sat. i. 5.)

‘Summi plenà jam margine libri Scriptus, et in tergo, nec-dum finitus Orestes.’

The writing must of course be conceived as of the ancient form, a *volume* [or roll] of a book, so that the opening of one seal, only laid open the contents of one volume.

2. “And I saw an angel strong proclaiming
“with a voice loud, Who (*is*) worthy to open
3. “the book and to loose the seals thereof? And
“no one was able in the heaven, nor upon the
- “earth, nor under the earth, to open the
4. “book, nor look thereon. And I wept much,
“because no one worthy was found to open
“the book nor to look thereon.”

As St. John must of course have understood the book in the hand as the history of him that held it, it is natural that his curiosity should have been thus excited to anxiety. The translation is unfortunate in the '*no man*,' since St. John was the only *human* being present. *No one* was able to read the book, nor even to look upon it, so possibly, as to see distinctly the seven seals, and thus to discover that the affairs of the Church were resolvable into seven distinct and remarkable periods. It may hence, perhaps, seem that not even the great Being (no, not one in heaven) could open, or look upon his own book without the intervention of some assistant. The Church in its own power could not look forward to discern what should befall itself, in the futurity of days.

5. " And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep
" not: behold, there hath prevailed the Lion,
" he of the tribe of Judah the root of David,
" to open the book, and the seven seals there-
6. " of. And I beheld, (* *and, lo,*) in the midst
" of the throne and of the four living ones,
" and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb
" standing, as it had been slain, having horns
" seven, and eyes seven which are the seven
" Spirits of the God which were sent forth
7. " into all the earth. And he came and took
" (* *the book*) out of the right hand of him who
" was sitting upon the throne."

* Griesbach doubts.

That the strong angel of the second verse must have his proper and peculiar antitype is certain, but the discovery has not been made. A kindred question now occurs respecting the one of the twenty-four elders who now offers consolation. The twenty-four elders are doubtless significant of the twelve Patriarchs, and twelve Apostles, representative of the Church general. Which of these comforts St. John? Dr. Hales says ‘his friend the presbyter,’ but which of the twelve Patriarchs and Apostles can it possibly be except the representative of the Apostle himself? Commentators indeed have generally, and I believe justly, attributed to St. John the occasional support of a symbolical character in his own person; and Daubuz more than once considers him as representative of those faithful Christians, who are in the world at the time of the fulfilment of the particular part of the prophecy. Thus in this case, St. John may *in his assumed character* express the painful feelings and expectations of the Christian world, while the symbolical representative of *his literal person* represses the despondency by the consequent exhibition of a mode of development of the future events. This elder had in the antitype, and before the visible introduction of any symbolical personage, been commanded to write the things which should be ‘*thereafter*,’ and to send ‘*the book*’ to the seven churches of Asia. He therefore significantly exhorts to comfort, inasmuch as the seven churches *were to see the book*; and to their care was *the book* to be committed. Thus all the obscurity is cleared off by

an adherence to the symbolical import, and a steady attention to the command in the first chapter, proceeding from the Alpha and Omega, the Church general. ‘What thou seest, write in a book, and send to the seven churches, in Ephesus, and in Smyrna, and in Pergamos, and in Thyatira, and in Sardis, and in Philadelphia, and in Laodicea.’

By these seven churches, which first received the book, and by none others, has the prophetical narration been distributed over the known world. A very little observation will lead to a conviction beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Lamb with the seven horns and seven eyes, symbolizes the body of the Church in these seven Churches.

The seven churches in the first chapter were symbolized by one that had been dead, walking amid the seven candlesticks. By his subsequent ascension into heaven and session on the throne, the Son was absorbed into the notion of the God-head. Of a sudden, however, lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst (not in the circle) of the elders, stood a Lamb *having been slain*: ‘it was dead.’ The Lamb had seven horns and seven eyes, symbols as positive of the seven churches and their spiritual wisdom, as were contained in the first chapter. As the eyes were sent forth into all the world, these seven churches have been the foundation of all the posterior events; the knowledge of the pure faith from these has been eminently derived; and these having received the book of prophecy, have published it to the world.

The Lamb therefore, the Lion of the tribe of Judah as opposed to the Church general, symbolizes that Asiatic ecclesiastical body, existing with very slight variation for three centuries at least from the time the Prophecy was sent and delivered. These seven churches, a part of Daniel's Babylonian Lion, being more nearly allied to the Patriarchate of Antioch than to any other division of the Church, and *finally* indeed falling under the jurisdiction of that Patriarchate, are properly designated in their collective character, not only as the Lamb whose blood was the seed of the Church, but as the Lion of the tribe of Judah. The standard of Judah and his two tribes in the Eastern Division of the Camp of Israel under Moses is supposed to have been a *Lion*; Jeremiah and Daniel pourtray the Babylonian Empire territorial, of which these countries made a part, under the symbolical *Lion*, which was probably likewise the Babylonian standard; St. John uses the same symbol for the Babylonian Patriarchate of Antioch, and for those lion-like destroyers of chap. ix, who certainly proceeded from the same territory. Thus in every case was this Lamb a part of the Lion, and of the symbolical first tribe of Judah. As he is the root of David, he is, we might say, the stock upon which the Church is founded, the origin of that great tree which once seemed spreading to fill the whole earth, and which will finally fill it on the amputation of the withered boughs. The seven horns are these seven spiritual kingdoms, or churches; and the seven eyes, the seven spirits,

are the enlightening influences of the Holy Ghost dwelling within them.

These eyes are sent forth into all the earth. We have just seen that the four Patriarchates were full of eyes. These their eyes were the diffusion of the seven, which were sent forth upon all the world. In these seven the Holy Spirit dwelt at first; they are the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which have expanded themselves into a light over the whole earth. Eyes, as a flame of fire, are interpreted as the Spirits: lamps also signify the Spirit. Consequently lamps and eyes of fire are synonymous; and hence alone the *Lampas*, the light, must appear to be altogether distinct from the *Luxua*, the lamp-bearer, or candlestick.

Here is also a strong and decided reference to Zechariah iv. 1, 7, 10. where the seven lamps are expressly said to be the seven eyes of the Lord, and, according to our translation, sent forth to run to and fro through the whole earth. This circumstance the angel elucidates to Zechariah by these remarkable words. ‘Not by might, not by power, but by my *Spirit*, saith the Lord of Hosts.’ Thus it again appears from angelic interpretation that the seven Spirits are representative of the Spirit, the third person of the Holy Trinity. Thus does Zechariah interpret St. John, by whom he may in turn be interpreted. His lamps and eyes are the representatives of the Spirit dwelling in the Church general, produced from the seven churches. To preclude hesitation, it should be observed that *the eyes* alone are sent forth. Beside the argument from

the grammatical construction, it is clear that the horns, which will hereafter receive full consideration, and be shewn as the *powers* of the bearers, could neither in the type nor antitype be sent forth into all the world. Propriety, both literal and symbolical, forbids such a construction. The whole, in fine, expresses the idea of that part of the Primitive Church, as existing in the seven Churches of Asia, and perhaps as principally subject to the cognizance of St. John as Metropolitan. It is otherwise difficult to account for the omission of other Churches. Colosse, and Hierapolis, indeed have been remarked to have been Churches of note even in St. Paul's time; but they are not mentioned in the Apocalypse, although they were situate in the same regions of proconsular Asia. They were probably, says Dean Woodhouse, become of less importance; but nevertheless Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and many others, were omitted; ‘so that the Holy Ghost taketh neither all, nor the most famous Churches of the world, and such no doubt as had need of instruction, as well as those here named.’ This consideration thus perplexed Mede, as well as other commentators, and has never hitherto been satisfactorily accounted for. Whether the commanded transmission of the prophecy to the care of these seven Churches, (i. 11.) to be from them delivered to the world, be not the key of the mystery, the reader is to determine. It is, moreover, observable that the Lamb, according to the power given unto him, only broke the seals, and shewed the symbolical representation. Unlike other Pow-

ers in the course of the prophecy, *he* never professes an interpretation.

I deem it needless to enter deeply into the present subjects. They made no part of my original intention; circumstances forced them upon me, and less obscurity may now be left in that interesting part which has been proposed as the more immediate subject of consideration. A careful attention to the spirit of these remarks may lead to the elucidation of those parts of the chapter which, as less important to the present subject, I leave with scanty notice. It may nevertheless be observed, that the four living ones who have no rest by day and by night praising God, and the twenty-four elders with the * harps who worship while the living ones praise God, do not fall down and worship until the Lamb *had* actually taken the book. I can scarce imagine a more express declaration that the four living ones are not immutable, nor representations of the immutable Deity they worship as priests, nor of the angelic hosts who were not *redeemed from the people of the earth*. They do not commence the praise of God until some indefinite period after the Lamb takes the book of the history from the hand of him who sits upon the throne, of whom, with an allusion to the persons of the Godhead, he is described, either as part, or as most intimately connected. This requires no explanation.

The peculiarity in the *sevenfold* praise of the

* Κιθαρας της Θεου, id est, Sacras, quarum in templo solo usus.—
Mede, Book V.

seven-churched Lamb is obvious; and little less so the *fourfold* to him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb, which personages were shewn to be almost identified with the *four living ones*, who utter their Amen to this votive prayer. The first voice has moreover a peculiarity of order, remarkable, whether in comparison with the promises to the seven churches, or with the latter shout of four-fold praise. ‘Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive (1) power, and (2) riches, and (3) wisdom, and (4) strength, and (5) honour, and (6) glory, and (7) blessing.’ The prizes proposed to the seven churches are precisely the same, but the order from first to last is reversed, and becomes by that order, perhaps somewhat stronger an elucidation of the *attainment* of these very prizes which we shall find in the latter part of the Apocalypse.

Worthy is the Lamb to receive (7) *blessing*. To him that overcometh (ii. 7,) is in the first place promised the restoration of *the Paradise of God*, wherein *the curse* is not. This blessing is subsequently inherited, as the *last* blessing in xxii. 3, where is the Paradise of God and ‘no more curse.’

(6) *Glory*. In ii. 10 and 11, is the promise of *the crown* of life, and an exemption from *the second death*. That the crown of life is a crown of glory needs no explanation; that the exemption from the second death is inclusive of the highest glory may be learned from its fulfilment as the penultimate privilege in xx. 4 and 6, and in xxi. 7, to the end of the chapter.

(5) *Honour*. In the hidden manna of ii. 17, is *the honour* of belonging to the temple of xxi. 3,

and perhaps an allusion to xxii. 2, 17, and the white stone with *the new name* of privilege may probably contain the honorary names of xix. Faithful and True, Word of God, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

(4) *Strength.* This strength follows in the sequel, as found in ii. 26, 27, the power over the nations to rule them with the rod of iron, the metallic symbol of *strength*, and to break them in shivers, as the potter's vessels. The fulfilment in its proper order is found in the whole latter part of xix.

(3) *Wisdom.* This spiritual wisdom will be found precisely to answer to the *white raiment* promised to the Conqueror in iii. 5, with the *name in the book of life*, and *the confession of that name* before the Father and the angels. This will be found in the fulfilment in xix. 8, 13, 14, xx. 4, &c. &c.

(2) *Riches.* These may consist in iii. 12, in the golden pillar of the temple, perhaps fulfilled in xi. 1, and in the name of God, the true riches, and the name of the city, golden-streeted, composed of all manner of jewels, as in the event it is found to be (xxii. 21, &c.) and the new name found in xxi. 1 and 2. A reference to xix. would bring us too nearly to the fifth to be altogether correct.

(1) *Power.* This last as it occurs in the promises, the first in fulfilment as in the hymn, is found in the ascension of the conqueror to the throne of God and Christ, predicted in iii. 21, fulfilled by the ascension of the witnesses in xi, and more expressly in the man-like son of xii, who, destined to rule all nations, is caught up

unto God and to his throne. That this rule is for the felicity of the people committed to his charge, need scarcely be observed :—

Vultus ubi tuus
Affulxit populo, gratior et dies
Et soles melius nitent. HOR.

The subjects thus briefly noticed will, however, receive elucidation as we proceed ; and therefore I aim at all possible conciseness. It must at the same time be remarked, that the fourfold Patriarchate praise commences with the last Asiatic, and continues regularly retrograde with an omission of the second, third, and fourth. This omission is necessarily expressive, and we should seek some clue. ‘Blessing, and glory, and honour, and power,’ (7, 6, 5, 1), are the parts retained. Why are strength, wisdom, and riches (4, 3, 2), *particularly* dropped from the hymn? It certainly seems proper that with reference to the Living ones, they should be reduced to four ; but we *should* be able to account for the manner and import of the reduction. Perhaps, whatever might have been wished for the *Lamb*, it was not entirely accordant with symbolical propriety to *wish* riches, and wisdom, and strength to the symbolical Father on the Throne ; or perhaps the ideas of blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, were more immediately suggested by the Throne. It will be found in xxii that the Throne is placed in the *blessed* paradise. There is however a variation in vii. 12, for which I cannot at present attempt to account.

It may also be pointed out that the song which they sing is a new song ; which in no case is applicable unless we understand the Lamb to be the Asiatic Primitive Church of which St. John was now the head. This Church is represented as taking the book, because it was sent to the component parts ; as unsealing it, because perhaps the extension of Christianity thence proceeded. It is that Church which had been slain at the Crucifixion ; and by whose labours and sufferings were the faithful eventually redeemed from all nations, and established in four Patriarchates.

It may again be observed, that the four living creatures call *themselves redeemed* from the earth, future kings upon the earth, priests to God, partakers of the royal priesthood. These four have hitherto been made representatives of the Deity or the Angels ! The new song was to the primitive church ; the song to the Church general, in exact accordance with the interpretation, is *not* specified *as new*. The very terms of the song, indeed, might almost be sufficient to teach that the subject of it is symbolical ; for how in strict propriety could the subjects of the hymn be *wished* to that literal Deity who is essentially and unchangeably infinite in all excellence ? But on a subject which made no part of my original plan, enough perhaps has been said. I am very fearful of saying too much ; and I apprehend that the most superficial reader could now without difficulty supply a deficiency. To the tenth chapter which is the commencement of our peculiar subject we are now immediately to proceed.

CHAP. X.

1—3, THE CHURCH OF THE REFORMATION, AS EXISTING PRINCIPALLY IN ENGLAND ; 4—11, THE DELIVERY OF THÉ HISTORY OF THIS CHURCH, EXCLUDING THÉ SEVEN OTHER PROTESTANT NATIONS, AND SEVERAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF REFERENCE AND CHRONOLOGY.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit soildâ.

HOR.

1. “ And I saw another Angel mighty coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud ; and the rainbow upon his head, and his face as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire ;
2. “ and having in his hand a little book opened ; and he set his right foot upon the sea and the
3. “ left upon the earth ; and cried with a voice loud, as when a lion roareth ; and when he cried, spake the seven thunders their voices.”

SOME few have strangely considered this mighty angel, descending from heaven as a *literal* angel ; but in the common idea Jesus Christ is signified. Daubuz alone, who confesses ‘ the symbols of this chapter to be not so obvious as those of the rest,’ supposes Martin Luther and his disciples,

or if we might paraphrase his words with a little enlargement, *the Lutheran Church* to be here intended.

The angel of the first chapter, who held in his right hand his seven stars, was proved the representative of the Church in its primitive state ; and the description was immediately followed by *the history of himself* in these seven stars. The great being, who sat upon the throne, symbolized, as has been shewn, the Church general ; and the book which was in his right hand was shewn to contain *his history*. It therefore appears from syinbolical analogy, that this angel of the tenth chapter must also symbolize some community ; and the little book in his hand the history of that community. As the great being of the first chapter was also one of the most conspicuous symbols in the whole symbolized Church general of the fourth and fifth chapters, and as the book of course contained all the history of the Church from beginning to end, this Angel's little book, introduced within that history, must be the more full history of some particular part of the history of the Church general. This too is proved by the open state of the book of futurity ; whereas it is declared that none but one symbolical Personage had power to open the book. That person, therefore, when he had opened the last seal of the history, must then have fulfilled the opening of this little book ; which is, as it were, a supplement, containing a more enlarged account of a particular part of the first book.

Within this book there is continual mention of

the period of 1260 days. The greater part of the city is dishonoured 1260 days. The witnesses prophesy in sackcloth, the woman is in the wilderness, the beast tyrannizes, 1260 days. Part of the subject of the little book is therefore within the 1260 days. The little book nevertheless is not the precise 1260 days; because they, by general consent, contain the seven trumpets; whereas this little book announces but the voice of one of them. The sound of one of them, the seventh, is more than once specially announced; first, in xi. 15, and again, as will be shewn, in xii. 12. But if one, and one only, is thus particularized, it is clear that all are not included; that the whole subject of the little book lies immediately before and after the one trumpet specified. The latter part of the subject of the little book lies therefore within the seventh trumpet; and the former in the sixth and immediately before the seventh.

The sixth trumpet is, on good grounds, supposed to have sounded about the end of the thirteenth century. Now although part of our subject is contained within the sixth trumpet, yet our subject cannot begin with the *first* blast; or the sixth trumpet would, as well as the seventh, have been specified within the little book, probably as its introduction. It may, therefore, be much posterior, though it cannot be prior to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

But the whole appearance of the angel is that of glory; and the tenor of his little book is, upon the whole, satisfactory. His witnesses, at first

depressed, are finally triumphant ; his man-child is rescued and caught up to God and a throne ; Michael and his angels prevail ; the three angels call forth their people from idolatry ; and vengeance is denounced and finally performed on the enemies of the faith. When, therefore, we regard the angel's bright appearance, and compare the triumphs in his little book with the sad events which are comprised in the preceding chapters, we cannot doubt that this angel, symbolizing as he must a part of the pure church, symbolizes a conspicuous, glorious, permanent part. What now is the glorious, pure body, still in existence, which appeared posterior to the thirteenth century ? Must not this mighty angel symbolize what we may term the Great Church of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, whose history will extend through all its eventful struggles from its birth to its present vigorous state, and its yet future maturity ? I was happy to find that I have been preceded by Daubuz and his Lutheran Church in the idea of the symbolical nature of the angelic actors. Another interpreter countenances the symbolical idea, however fancifully, by a thorough persuasion that this mighty ' angel is a sublime personification of ' knowledge and wisdom, of that revival of learning and extraordinary spread of knowledge, ' which had their beginning during the course of ' the Turkish woe.'

This mighty angel comes down from heaven. It has already been fully established, and will hereafter again appear, that heaven, *thus used*, is the symbol of authority, and that the mystical

assemblage in heaven and around the throne, signified the Church in authority. It was shewn, moreover, that this became a permanent symbol in its leading features, liable to variation, correspondent with the different appearances which the Church might assume. Whenever the Church becomes established, and in authority, it is in heaven and on a throne; but whenever it comes down into a state of conflict, it is represented as struggling upon earth. It has indeed been asserted, that the descent simply implies a commission from heaven. This idea, as it is not natural, so neither, since it departs from the symbolical use of heaven, is it admissible. The general history of this angel, who is voluntarily coming down to earth, contains therefore a state, not of general security, but of voluntary conflict, and a relinquishment of the established system of religion; and so far does the mighty angel exactly correspond to *the Reformation*.

When first we beheld the represented Church before its ascension into the heaven of authority, we beheld one, whose countenance was, as the sun shineth in his strength, whose feet were as if they burned in a furnace, and whose great voice was as of a trumpet. The description of the present angel is very similar: his face is likewise as it were the sun: his feet as pillars of fire; and he cried with a loud voice, as a Lion roareth. We proved the first Being to symbolize the Church, as in the first century. The description before us is so similar, that we cannot hesitate to pronounce this angel also a Church; yet in minor points so diverse, that, independently of chrono-

logy, we might be assured, that he must symbolize a very different state of the Church. Among the minor points of diversity, we do not find that our present angel has either head or hair of a whiteness so exquisitely pure, nor eyes by any means so bright and piercing, as the flame of fire. Thus, in strict accordance, we are compelled to acknowledge, that the purity and spirit of the Protestant Church falls far, very far beneath the Primitive. The pillars of fire, according to the best conjecture, may, with the feet of the first Being, signify the *stability* of the Reformation, and be inserted principally to complete the elucidating similarity. As there was a rainbow round the throne in heaven, denoting the certain covenant of peace with God, and a significative assurance that a deluge of sin should not again sweep away all life from the earth, so is there a rainbow round the head of the angel; and hence alone we might trust that we are reserved for a brighter day. Griesbach, by reading ‘*the rainbow*,’ countenances the idea that this is *the very rainbow*, which belonged to the Church established in the fourth chapter. The promise to that Church yet awaits its completion.

This angel is clothed with a cloud; and as a cloud is always the symbol of a nation, we must not be led away by a vague idea, that it is a mere adjunct to the rainbow. It is a definite symbol: it is positively asserted by Daniel to be a nation; and it is therefore unalterably a nation. Hence it decidedly appears, that in the same manner as we shall find the great European Church

clothed with the hierarchy of Rome, so this Church of the Reformation is to be conspicuously clothed with *one* kingdom: the more particular subject of his history will be the Reformation, *rising and continuing in one kingdom*. As members of the pure apostolical church of England, we conscientiously believe, that this our society of faithful men is the only pure Church Apostolic, nationally established, within the limits of the Roman Empire. The Church of the Reformation becomes therefore, if we be correct in our sentiments, almost synonymous with the Church of, or in, England. We may therefore be assured beforehand, that we shall find our Church of England very conspicuous within the contents of the little book; and it is evident that if we so find it without drawing our arguments from this chapter, there will be the strongest reciprocal confirmation.

I cannot give any satisfactory interpretation of the symbolical action, when the angel set his right foot on the sea and his left upon the earth. There is not any such a thing as mere poetical imagery in the Revelation; and this action must have a definite purport. There is little plausibility in the idea that the right foot on the sea and the left on the earth, expresses more real prosperity in turbulence, than in the languor of establishment; yet this, whether intended or not by the Prophet, has certainly been accomplished in the annals of the Reformation. Only while the pure faith seems to have been in danger, has it been heartily cherished. As one of the two

beasts of the thirteenth chapter rises up from the sea, the other from the earth, the circumstance may at some time be found to elucidate the present passage. May it simply intend that the *whole* earth was affected by his appearance; or may the sea denote *his* great nation to whom his influence was propitious, and the land the remaining part of the Roman earth, upon which he is the final cause of bringing down judgments? I wish more success to the next investigator.

“ And when he cried, spake the seven thunders their voices. And when spake the “ seven thunders, I was about to write; and I “ heard a voice from the heaven, saying, Seal “ up those *things* which spake the seven thun- “ ders, and not these shalt thou write.”

Thunder is the voice of a cloud: a cloud is a nation: the voice of a cloud must, therefore, be the proceedings of the nation. Seven thunders, speaking their voices, symbolize therefore the proceedings of seven nations. The great angel's voice may be also a thunder, a voice of a cloud; for he was clothed with a cloud, and of course spake from the cloud. His voice represents the proceedings of the *great* national church of the Reformation; and the seven voices, immediately successive, or contemporaneous and as it were connected, must be the proceedings of seven nations, and probably in the same work of the Reformation. ‘Indeed,’ says Mede, ‘the seven thunders may be, if not present, yet very near, if we could understand

'them.' Let us then examine whether any seven national churches, besides this great Church of England and Ireland, were implicated in the religious commotions of the sixteenth century, for the spirit of the Prophecy demands that the number of such nations should be exactly seven. Now upon examination we shall find, that this very number of nations did at that time protest against the tyranny and corruption of Rome, and that these seven, to be found in every ecclesiastical history, are as follow: Norway (an independent kingdom, though united to Denmark), Sweden, Denmark, Scotland (not even under English government), the Low Countries, Hungary, and Poland.

The original of the text, as translated, is not, "When he *had* cried," but "*when he cried*," signifying that these thunders were contemporary with his own, in the same hour, *while he* was crying, and not successive to his cry. We shall find the era of the angel's cry to be limited as prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. It must have began before Ireland was erected into a separate kingdom, and probably before that year 1542. Now the establishment of the Reformation of Sweden may be dated in 1530, of Denmark in 1537 or 1539, and of Norway at the same time; Hungary about 1550, Scotland 1560, Low Countries between 1560 and 1570, Poland 1570. These are the seven: Germany, as it will appear, always remained as a *whole* Papal; and in the Swiss cantons the proportion of Papal to Protestant is, as two to one. The dates of the proceedings within

the seven form a sufficiently complete fulfilment of the *contemporaneous* Reformation. There is only an interval of forty years between the first and the last of these thunders ; and I apprehend we shall find from the little book of the angel's history, that his cry extends through much of the same space. Now St. John is commanded not to *write* the voices of the seven thunders ; whence it plainly again appears, that these thunders are voices of some speakers ; and each a history. In the ensuing history of the Reformation within the little book, we are therefore forbidden to have any particular regard to the seven nations. We have but the voice of one cloud. The little book exactly contains the history of the birth, progress, and completion of that great "Eye of the Reformation," the Church in England. The seven other Protestant churches have no proper part in the prophecy. It is possible that they may briefly occur, as connected with events relating to the Church of England, or as chronological marks ; but they do not form any part of the peculiar subject of the great angel's history.

It will scarcely be expected that I should pause to notice the idea that these seven thunders are the same as the seven vials ; or else the seven distinct periods of European warfare, which has been compressed into seven with all imaginable ease ! Yet these two interpretations are the best that have appeared. In support of the former, no argument has been brought forward, except that the numbers are in each case *seven*, by which coincidence the thunders may be as clearly shewn

to be not only vials, but candlesticks, stars, seals, and trumpets! The seven vials are all within the seventh trumpet; some at least of the seven thunders are obviously within the sixth, contemporary with the Reformation of the Church in England. St. John was positively commanded not to write the seven thunders: he does write the seven vials. The seven voices are spoken in thunders: the seven vials are poured out in silence. The seven thunders are represented in accordance to nature as rolling for a time and then ceasing to sound: the influences of the seven vials, or rather the last of them, seem to extend almost indefinitely. The seven trumpets sound about the same time: the seven vials are distinctly successive. Need we pursue discordances farther? The trumpets and vials, in fact, agree not in one tittle, except the number seven.

As to the alleged seven periods of European warfare, the commentator who, by the arbitrary exclusion of minor contests, would once have ingeniously divided it into seven, and who for that purpose took a very convenient commencement after the time when he says that the Turks first passed the acm  of their power, at the close of the seventeenth century, previous to the grand attack on the Babylonish kingdom, should, if he now persist in this incoherent idea, invent an optional ending, and contrive not to mar his fated number by any notice of the late wars, excited by the new dynasties of France. Until this be done, the idea may not require a serious refutation.

5. “ And the angel which I saw standing upon
“ the sea and upon the earth lifted up his hand,
6. “ the right *hand*, to the heaven ; and sware by
“ the Living for ages of ages, who created the
“ heaven and the things that therein are, and
“ the earth and the things that therein are, and
“ the sea, and the things that are therein, that
7. “ a delay no more shall be, but in the days of
“ the voice of the seventh angel : When he shall
“ be about to sound his trumpet, shall even be
“ (*about* to be*) made perfect the mystery of
“ the God, as he gave the good tidings to his
“ servants the prophets.”

It is well known that the lifting up of the hand in appeal to heaven made a part of the ancient oath. Scriptural instances are so numerous, that the production would be superfluous. It has been observed, moreover, that ‘ this mode of swearing has descended even to our own times and nation, being still used in Scotland, and there allowed by Act of Parliament to those dissenters who are called Seceders. The solemn league and covenant in the time of Charles I. had been taken after this manner.’

In the Revelation every action is symbolical and definite : there is no such a thing as an expletive ; and something peculiar must, therefore, be intimated in this action. This peculiarity may, perhaps, appear when we fix our eyes upon the little book in the uplifted right hand. Lifting up

* Griesbach doubts.

the hand which held the little book, he unavoidably lifted up his *history* into the heaven of authority. As some meaning must be found, there may not perhaps be too much refinement in the idea, that although the Church of the Reformation was represented in a state of conflict upon earth, yet that this little book was *thus* exalted, upon the whole, into a history of decided success. We have been called the “Eye of the Reformation,” as the sun, like to which is the face of this angel, is termed the Eye of day, dissipating the mists of error and the darkness of ignorance. Had we been fortunately called also the *Hand* of the Reformation, the meaning of this passage, if such it be, must have started forth. The Reformation, even to the present day, has had this hand high in authority; and it is the purpose of these volumes to exhibit the infallible signs of a brighter tomorrow.

The invoked object of his oath is plainly the Church general, the symbolized Regenerator; but whether through an inaccurate translation of words confessedly difficult, or designed prophetical obscurity, or neglect of reference to connected passages, or the long habit of misapplication in which commentators have been involved, the subject of the oath has yet been wrapped in impenetrable obscurity.

The common text should first be put under brief examination; and especially the declaration, as it is worded in our version, that *there should be time no longer*. Now we deny this sense; because many posterior events are plainly foretold, and

time, therefore, *does* endure longer. Nor can his declaration allude to any *particular* part of time; for in this case the Greek article must have been prefixed. The translation, ‘*time*,’ must, therefore, in any case, general or particular, be incorrect. Upon consultation of Parkhurst for the Greek substantive, we find, however, only one other possible sense, a sense intended in the original of ii. 21, and partly expressed in the common version, the sense of delay: ‘*There shall be delay no longer*.’ So far then we tread on firm ground: this very sense is given by Doddridge in his paraphrase, and he thought no notice or justification necessary. ‘The times of the judgments to be signified by the pouring out of the seven vials, should not be much longer *delayed*.’ Thus, I find, is it also by Brightman and some others explained, as an intimation that *delay* should be no longer.

Again, there is an evident want of correspondence with the original in the common translation ‘when he shall begin to sound,’ which, assuredly, should have been rendered in a sense still prior: ‘*When he shall be about to sound*.’ There is still more inaccuracy in ‘the mystery of God should be finished;’ for, according to the observation of Mede (page 596), ‘Every grammarian knows that the *Aorists Subjunctive* supply the place of the *future*, which the *subjunctive* wanteth;’ and hence this passive subjunctive aorist ought to be rendered in a future sense, ‘*the mystery of God shall be about to be finished*.’

Though Griesbach adopts a different reading, which might be thought to justify the English version; yet on the rule adopted by himself that the most unlikely sense should be preferred, because no copyists would have inserted such sense, the common text seems worthy of preference. Woodhouse, however, apprehends that the meaning would still be as above proposed; and the subject receives consideration in Hales' Anal. of Chronology ii. 1321. ‘The redundant particle *καὶ* greatly perplexes the sense, and has created infinite embarrassment to editors and translators. But the received reading is most ingeniously supported by Middleton, p. 664. He justly considers *καὶ τελεῖθη* as a Hebrew idiom in which the *καὶ* changes the sense, corresponding to the *vau conversivum præteriti*, and illustrates it by example, Judges iv. 8, in Barak’s answer to Deborah’s invitation.

‘*If thou wilt go with me, I will go, (literally, and I went); but if thou will not go with me, I will not go.* Here the septuagint renders the idiom *προσνομεῖαι*, and the corresponding future *εἰ προσνομεῖαι* determining the meaning. This is indeed a most happy and convincing illustration, and alone would stamp the merit of the TREATISE ON THE GREEK ARTICLE.’

Let us now put the sentence together, as far as at present justified.

‘*He swears that there a delay no more shall be;*
‘*but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel,*
‘*when he shall be about to sound, shall even be*

‘about to be finished the mystery of God, as he gave the good tidings to his servants the prophets.’

Here, however, according to the present division of the passage, appears a manifest absurdity. The one same act cannot be done both *before he sounds* his trumpet, or when he is *about to sound*, and *in the days of his sounding*, or *after he has sounded*. The time when he should be about to sound, cannot be a part of the days of his sounding; and we must, therefore, find some division of the passage which may release the sense from such palpable confusion. Now I conceive it will be found that the exposition will countenance that break after the word ‘*angel*,’ which the sense absolutely demands. He swears that there shall be delay no longer; but (*it will come to pass*) in the days of the voice of the seventh angel. There is an ellipsis precisely similar in every respect in 2 Thess. ii. 3, to which I would request attention. He *then* says, that when he shall be *about to sound*, the mystery of God shall even be *about to be finished*.

What now is this mystery of God, or rather what can it be, but the religion of Christ? The word ‘*Mystery*’ is throughout the Scriptures almost synonymous with religion. It would be a waste of time to make full reference to the innumerable texts which speak of *the mysteries* of godliness, of faith, of God, the Father and the Son, of Christ, of the Gospel, of the revelation of God to the Gentiles. By all which it appears that the mystery of God does not essentially dif-

fer from the *pure* religion as the future *Mystery* of Babylon signifies the corrupt religion of some particular Power. Take, however, the mystery of God in any imaginable sense; and it will still appear, that in contradiction to our version of the prophecy, it is *not* finished at the commencement of the seventh trumpet. We must, therefore, look out for some other purport of the Greek verb.

Now, consulting any dictionary, we shall find that although it have often the sense of completion of *time*, yet that it has as often the more general sense of completion, or *making perfect*. See Scapula for the verb and the references: Hedericus gives one of the meanings, *effectum reddo*: Parkhurst gives, to finish, *fulfil*, *complete*, *accomplish*, with the references, Luke ii. 39, &c. &c.: Homer most frequently uses it in the sense of accomplishment; and in this sense it is actually translated (*filled up*) in the first verse of chap. xv. Upon the whole, the original text is found to declare that the Christian religion should be about to be *made perfect*, when the seventh trumpet should be about to be sounded. This subject, in all its bearings, must receive a second consideration in the next chapter; and the version proposed will there, I conceive, be established beyond a doubt. Let us now, therefore, once more receive into full view the amended literal translation. ‘He swears that delay no more shall be; but (*it shall be done*) in the days of the voice of the seventh angel. When he shall be about to sound his trumpet, shall be even about to be made perfect the mystery of God (*the Christian*

religion), as he gave the good tidings to his servants the prophets.'

The next step is obvious: we must search for the references, and learn all we can about these good tidings thus given. Examine backwards verse by verse; and we find nothing of the sort until we are returned to the eleventh and tenth verses of chap. vi.; and in the original, or in a correct translation of these verses, we certainly do find all that can be requisite.

9. " And when he had opened the fifth seal, I
" saw under the altar the souls of them that
" were slain for the word of God, and for the
10. " testimony which they held. And they cried
" with a loud voice, *Until when, O Lord,* the
" holy and the true, dost thou not judge, and
" avenge our blood on them that dwell on the
11. " earth? And it was announced to them, *in*
" *order that* they might rest yet a little season:
" until the time, when *should be about to be*
" *fulfilled* (a. i. subj.) both their fellow-servants
" and brethren, *being about to be killed* as
" even they."

It is scarcely necessary to justify this translation. The first alteration is exactly literal, is the precise expression of the very same enquiry in the LXX. version of Dan. xii. 6, and is given by Parkhurst under πεπτι. The *annunciation* is from Parkhurst under πεπτω: *In order that*, is well known to be the common purport of πεπτω; and it has already been remarked that the aor. subj. has a

future sense, and that the *τελεων* must signify a fulfilment, or making perfect. The question is addressed to the Lord, the holy and the true, which plainly refers to the angel in iii. 7, which symbol of the Church we have already examined. Now we moreover proved that with him is in a manner identified our angel of the tenth chapter. Hence will appear the propriety of the *answer*, as it will be shewn to be, from the very person to whom it was originally addressed. It was asked, therefore, Until how long there would be delayed the judgment and vengeance; and it was answered, in order that they might rest yet a * time, Until their brethren and fellow servants should be about to be fulfilled, being about to be killed even as they. Their fellow-servants, like victims adorned for the sacrifice, should, when seeming about to be fulfilled, be then actually about to be killed.

The import of the fellow-servants, *about to be fulfilled*, is sufficiently easy. We read of joy fulfilled, obedience fulfilled, of being fulfilled in Christ, the same original word, and having uncontestedly the sense of *being made perfect*. But, upon accurate search, we can find no fellow-servants either about to be made perfect, or about to be killed, and much less the requisite junction of the two circumstances, until we enter with St. John upon the little book of the angel's history. Herein indeed we shall exactly find both circumstances, that when two witnesses, pro-

* *χρόνον*. Griesbach rejects the *μισέρον*.

phets, were about to make perfect their testimony, they were then about to be killed; for immediately the beast made war upon them, and killed them. Now these were killed even *as the other*, in exact accordance. The first were killed for the word of God and the testimony which they held; and the last witnesses of the *same* word of God were killed by the beast for the *same* testimony. With these concurrent circumstances, this time must, and no other can, be the announced time. But if it be the announced time, it is requisite that it should be quickly followed by a judgment and a vengeance. It is so: at that time the second woe past: the third woe came quickly; and in that woe of the seventh trumpet is it announced, in the common translation, that the time of the wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they should be judged, that reward should be given to the servants of God and the prophets, and to the saints, that the judgments are made manifest, and the vials of wrath poured out upon the earth. It should also be remarked, that the full expression, *in the days of the voice of the seventh angel*, certainly denotes a very signal and not very short part of that period: not in the *day* of the sounding, but in the *days* of the sounding.

Now it appears that all this, as included in the little book, belongs to the angel's history; and I apprehend that nothing will be more clear than its purport.

He swears, as it seems at the end of the sixth trumpet, that delay shall not be longer; but

that the promised judgment and vengeance shall be in the days of the voice of the seventh angel. As, moreover, it had been oracularly announced to the saints for a mark of the coming time, that the delay should be until their fellow servants and their brethren should be about to be made perfect, he expressly adds, that when the seventh trumpet should be about to sound, the mystery of God should be about to be made perfect, *as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.* The declaration we have found in vi. 10; the fulfilment we find throughout the whole course of the angel's history.

But, not willing to leave a possibility of doubt, I would treat the subject in yet another manner. It may be remarked, that whenever we do find the Lord avenging and judging, then of necessity must the time promised to the saints have arrived, the testimony must have been about to be made perfect, and the saints, who before such a time were *about* to be killed, must actually *have been* killed. Now we do find at the introduction of the seventh trumpet both judgment and vengeance. Here again, then, is it shewn that the delay is no longer; that all takes place in the days of the voice of the seventh angel. Nevertheless, as until the seventh trumpet be about to sound, we perceive that there cannot be vengeance upon God's enemies, that vengeance cannot be a literal affliction. Such a supposition is negatived by all the literal affliction which fills the preceding woes contrary to the proposition. The symbolical vengeance

on the enemies must assuredly in this case have been the increase of pure religion; and we cannot indeed suppose that the saints, who in their literal character love their enemies, can be uttering *literal* imprecations upon their heads. It is, as it were, the struggle of the virtues and the vices. The vengeance upon God's enemies must be in the reformation of the world, and in all the steps which lead to it, bloody or unbloody. The first increase of pure religion took place at the Reformation: the Reformation must therefore be immediately prior to the first blast of the seventh trumpet: the seventh trumpet must therefore have already sounded. But the incipient perfection and consequent death of the witnesses is also immediately prior to this seventh trumpet: consequently, the death of the witnesses took place about the era of the Reformation, and all ideas that the death of the witnesses may yet be destined to take place must vanish at once, on the allowable supposition that any one page of this work be correct.

8. “ And the voice which I heard from the
“ heaven again speaking with me, and say-
“ ing, Withdraw, take the little book which
“ is opened in the hand of the angel standing
9. “ upon the sea and upon the earth. And I
“ departed unto the angel, speaking to him,
“ to give me the little book. And he saith
“ unto me, Take and eat it up; and it shall
“ embitter thy belly, but in thy mouth it shall
10. “ be sweet as honey. And I took the little

“ book from the hand of the angel, and ate
“ it up; and it was in my mouth, as honey
“ sweet; and when I had eaten it, was
“ embittered my belly.”

This symbolical action requires further elucidation, for the only interpretations I am able either to borrow or suggest, do not seem at all adequate to the probable importance of the purport of these three verses, a space very unusual for so little matter.

The knowledge of futurity is always sweet, however painful: the knowledge of the superintendence of Divine Providence, a source of unfailing comfort, is still more precious when all around seems dark and cheerless; because a hand is seen which the unenlightened eye sees not, employed in causing all things to work together for good to those who love God. Thus the book which Ezekiel ate, (ii. 8, and iii. 1), although written within and without with lamentations and mourning and woe, and though he immediately proceeds to foretell desolation, yet was sweet in his mouth. There is another interpretation which might seem to have plausibility, could it be made to agree with the book of Ezekiel, which contained nothing at first but lamentation. This is what we shall see to have been actually fulfilled, that the Reformation, however glorious and sweet at first, was yet bought with blood; and with the purchase was, moreover, brought in the noisome sore of infidelity.

The eating of the book, considered by itself, is obviously the thorough acquisition of its contents, and a useful piece of machinery, to prevent the confusion which must otherwise have necessarily occurred.

11. “And he saith to me, Thou must again prophesy upon peoples and nations and tongues and kings, many.”

The subject of this prophesying again is of course to belong to the little book, or all the machinery with which it is introduced would be nugatory. This little book we may see reason to divide into three distinct, and chronologically parallel narrations, each occupied by a history of the events of the Reformation, no events being introduced without a strong and decided connection with this subject. It occasionally becomes necessary to enter largely into the history of connected events, but the grand purport is the Reformation ; and therein, the Reformation, far more especially, of the Church in England.

CHAP. XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION; THE PREPARATION IN ENGLAND; THE DEPRESSION AND SUBSEQUENT REVIVAL IN GERMANY, AND FINAL ESTABLISHMENT IN ENGLAND. THE FALLING OFF OF ENGLAND AND SEVEN OTHER NATIONS FROM THE COMMUNION OF ROME; THE REFORMATION EVEN OF THE REMAINING ADHERENTS TO THAT COMMUNION: AND SOME OF THE FINAL JUDGMENTS UPON GOD'S ENEMIES.

“As when a scout
Through dark and desert ways, with peril gone
All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renowned metropolis,
With glistering spires and pinnacles adorned,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams.

Par. Lost, Book iii. 543.

A WRITER on the Prophecies should bind himself to the constant observation of this indispensable rule: He must not shrink from the investigation of *every word* of his prophetical text. Prophecy, it has been said, is History anticipated and contracted: History, Prophecy accomplished and dilated. When, therefore, the rise and fall of empires, or the apostasy and purification of churches; when events the most intricate in their causes, and extensive in their consequences, are

included in expressions concise as can possibly be invented, it is evident that there cannot be one word, one turn of expression, without its peculiar and definite import. It is not to be denied that the general tenor of an extended prophecy may satisfy us of its proper interpretation, although we may be unable to ascertain at once the exact fulfilment of every minor point; but I would obviate the possible charge of an over-refined minuteness, that new crime of which no commentator has hitherto been guilty. The mere general tenor may indeed satisfy; yet we should indisputably attain a better conviction, from the addition of *particulars*, and a demonstrated propriety in the very form of expression. So should no jot or tittle in any wise be allowed to pass away until all be fulfilled. Should I therefore dwell too anxiously upon points apparently inconsiderable, these observations are intended for my apology; and if there be an ultimate failure, in minor considerations, then let it be pleaded that, though doubtless *all* will finally be understood, in the present progressive and imperfect state of our prophetic knowledge, the interpretation, generally considered, may remain unaffected by the partial failure.

1. “ And there was given me a reed like unto a
“ rod: (*and the *angel stood*) saying, Arise,
“ and measure the temple of the God, and the
2. “ altar, and them worshipping therein. And

* Griesbach rejects.

“ the court which without the temple cast out,
“ nor it shalt thou measure ; for it is given unto
“ the Gentiles : and the city the holy shall they
“ tread forty and two months.”

No commentator has hitherto noticed as it deserves the peculiar presentation of a reed, like unto a rod, when the Prophet, on his entrance into the history of the little book, is commanded to arise and measure.

The reed may be presumed the Egyptian bulrush or papyrus, which grows to the height of nine or ten feet, besides two under water, and is nearly four inches in circumference. This reed, among other purposes, was used for the Eastern measure, for which, from its lightness and strength, it was extremely convenient ; and which became limited exactly to nine feet three inches. When our Saviour upon the cross was athirst, a sponge was filled with vinegar, and put upon *a reed*, and thus lifted up to his mouth, that he might drink. When the soldiers took him into the common hall, they stripped him and put on in derision a scarlet robe and a crown of thorns, and put *a reed* in his right hand, and mocking him, with all these ensigns of royalty, cried, Hail, King of the Jews. They afterwards took *the reed, his sceptre*, from him, and smote him on the head with this by no means despicable weapon. The mockery was as correct in the sceptre as in the crown ; for it is well known that the ancient sceptre was in the long cylindrical form of the large reed : it was only a straight rod, sometimes a little ornamented.

The reed of the prophecy is like a rod; and quotations need not be multiplied to shew that the rod corresponds to our sceptre. The fact is undisputed; yet one or two instances may not be unacceptable. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the eighth verse, occur these words, *A rod of righteousness is the rod of thy kingdom*; the rod, with strict propriety, being rendered in our translation by the sceptre: ‘A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom.’ In Rev. ii. 27 is the prophetical expression, ‘he shall rule them with a rod of iron;’ and in the symbolized fulfilment the man-child of chap. xii. as well as the Word of God of xix, rules with this rod, or durable sceptre of iron. In the Revelation, indeed, the rod never occurs except in the sceptered sense.

Unaccustomed as we are to the language of signs, and adorned as are the modern sceptres of the West, were Britannia represented upon our coins with a reed like a sceptre in her hand, we should surely at once perceive the expression of a mighty Power. How then has it hitherto been unconjectured, that St. John, about to measure a temple with a reed like a sceptre, was about to enter more especially upon the history of the church of a mighty Empire? I fear to add the idea of a *maritime* supremacy; because, according to a sensible observation of a predecessor, it is sufficient with a great many to discredit a tenet, if they can but find any thing not defensible brought toward the maintenance thereof. Yet, as the reed is not the ordinary expression for a

measure, the reed, the bulrush may, perhaps must, be significant ; and Horsley's application of a passage in Isaiah is now so well known, that few can need to be reminded of the call to the same Britannia, accustomed to send messengers in vessels of *bulrushes* upon the waters. From the standing attitude in which the angel is particularly placed by the common text, may be presumed stability and security. The posture of sitting on the ground is well known on the one hand to have been emblematical of distress ; while, on the other, the ancient Christians were universally accustomed to pray on the Lord's-day, standing ; whereas at other times they kneeled in prayer ; 'to signify,' says Justin Martyr, 'our fall by sin and resurrection, and restitution by the grace of Christ ; that we do not bow the knee on *the Lord's-day*, symbolically represents our resurrection with our Lord.' Whether in the correct text the angel stands or not, this observation is applicable to the words of the angel, '*Rise and measure.*'

What now is this measuring ? The prophet almost directs a reference to the parallel chapters of Ezekiel. In a year of the captivity, in the fourteenth year after the city was smitten, the hand of the Lord was upon Ezekiel, and brought him to a high mountain in the land of Israel ; and he saw one with a line in his hand, and a measuring reed ; and he observed him measuring minutely every part of the temple, the inner and outer courts, and all the subdivisions of the magnificent structure. All this happened, says the

Prophet, in a vision. Fourteen years had now elapsed since the literal temple was burned by the Chaldeans ; and the Prophet, for the consolation of his fellow captives, foretels their final revival, as a national church. In the second chapter of Zechariah, at a time when the literal Jerusalem was levelled with the ground, a man goes forth with a measuring line to measure Jerusalem ; and an angel interprets the symbol, ‘ Jerusalem shall be inhabited in the highest prosperity.’ From one or both of these, and perhaps also from the forty-eighth Psalm, St. John draws his imagery. In both the former instances no literal temple, no literal city, subsisted. The angel measured them in token of a future rebuilding, whether literal or mystical. He did not rebuild : he stood upon a high mountain in the land of Israel, and there measured out the ground, where in future days they should be built.

These prophecies are, however, to be considered as distinct books ; and the temple of Ezekiel in particular has always been understood to be unconnected with the rest of the Prophecy. The measuring of St. John is, on the other hand, implicated with other prophecies, and therefore subjected to their chronology. St. John, at the point of time to which he had arrived, signifies a measuring, or laying out, or preparation for building. He does not build the temple at this point of his chronology ; he does not see the temple built ; but he prefaches his history by the annunciation of the joyful news of a rebuilding, posterior to that time : preparations for the building of

the temple are now, therefore begun. In the midst of the second woe, while the four angels of Euphrates continued loose, before the slaying of the witnesses, before the earthquake, in which the tenth part of the city fell and the seven thousand names of men were slain, preparations are made, *the ground is measured for the building of a temple of God.*

We are next to discover the site of the future temple. As the literal temple was within the walls of the literal Jerusalem, and as the Prophet of course thence draws his allusion, the symbolical temple must likewise be built within the symbolical holy city. Now a city can be nothing but a church; because the New Jerusalem of the Revelation is manifestly a church, and because it is called the bride, the Lamb's wife, which by universal consent is a symbol of the church. Any idea of a kingdom of this world, any idea of a secular nature within the symbol of a city, is utterly inadmissible. The city, once a church, must always be a church: the whole being ecclesiastical, every part must be ecclesiastical. Now, in connection, we find the tenth part of the city falling, by which it appears that this city was divided into ten remarkable parts. It is therefore probable that upon finding a great church composed of ten conspicuous parts, we should be near the discovery of our antitype. But the great Church of the Western Empire *was* so divided, a national church to each of the ten converted nations, ecclesiastically united under the usurpation of

the Roman Patriarch; and as the fortunes of the Western Church are the great subject of the Prophecy, this must be our city, and within it must we place the site of the temple. But as these ten streets compose the whole city, and it would be an outrage against the symbol to place the new temple without the walls of the city, some part of the city must fall to afford the site. We accordingly find that at some future period there was a great earthquake which overthrew the tenth part of the city; and upon this tenth part and no other, we are therefore necessitated to conclude the temple founded.

A temple, as well metaphorically as symbolically, signifies a church; and the temple of God, a pure church. A city is a church visible, pure or impure. As a beast signifies not so much a kingdom as an Empire, and its horns the number of the powers into which the Empire is divided, so is the city an imperial church, and its streets the national churches into which the great whole is divided. A temple which symbolizes a church, within a city which symbolizes the same in a greater degree, must represent the purest part of the great church; and thus, in the New Jerusalem of the twenty-second chapter, we find no temple, because there is an equal purity in all parts of the city.

That we may fully understand the symbolical imagery, we should gain an idea of the form of the ancient temple. It consisted, as far as is necessary to observe in the present subject, of

an outer court, an inner court, in which idea is sometimes perhaps included that more sacred part into which only the Priests and Levites were admitted, and also the place for the altar. This altar certainly includes the space around it, the whole place of sacrifice; and Mede, indeed, goes so far as to conceive that it is in this θυσιαστήρ, *in aὐτῷ*, in this altar place that the people are worshipping. He does not seem, however, to be very clear in his antitypical ideas on this point, and writes, as if conscious of inaccuracy. He ventures, indeed, to hint that the altar insinuates the continual sacrifice of Martyrdom!

The altar in the temple plainly represents, however, the ministers of the temple, or the clergy, the priests and deacons who sat and stood round the altar, according to the practice which we have noted of the primitive churches; and the worshippers within the more holy part of the body of the temple, represent the bulk of the people or laity. What then is this court without the temple, which, as a component part of the temple, must be a component part of the church; but which is left unmeasured, not indeed trodden under foot with the rest of the holy city, nor unpartaking of the worship of the altar or clergy, but still given unto the same Gentiles? There is a stronger expression, however, in the original respecting the outer court, than is expressed in our common version. Instead of the outer court being left out, it is cast out; *αἴσας ἦξεν*, as the Vulgar has it, *Ejice foras*; and Beza, though he translates it *Exclude*,

yet confesses that it is *ad verbum*, Ejice foras,
‘ Excommunicate the outer court.’

Here then may be traced so many peculiarities, making such a decided distinction from any temple which has been ever built, that our interpretation may be concluded sure, even to a mathematical demonstration, upon the discovery of any circumstances in any national church which will cause it to correspond with this unique in the history of religion.

Here is an established church of a mighty, and not improbably *maritime*, kingdom. The preparations for the establishment of this church commenced while the Turkish horses were continuing their symbolical ravages, before the temporary depression of that witnessed truth which revived at the Reformation, before that general earthquake which in every place shook the idolatrous church to its foundation, and in one part entirely destroyed it, leaving space for the erection of this pure church, while the rest of the symbolical city continued to be trodden by the Gentiles. This * new church, moreover, is in part holy and pure, but in another part at the same time, for St. John surveyed both the courts together, the idolatries of the symbolical Gentiles are for a long succession of time almost universally prevalent, although the pure religion

* I scarcely need observe that Mede’s reply to Wood’s objections must be considered entirely unsatisfactory. He confessed, indeed, that he was staggered in his own tenets, though he could not embrace the contrary.

is by law established. This outer court of the temple is, as it were, excommunicated, belonging to the temple only, as it seems from geographical position.

The reader must surely have outran me in the plain conclusion, that all these predictions have been precisely fulfilled in the Church of the kingdom (or subsequently sister kingdoms), of England and Ireland, and by none other in the history of the world.

The history of the little book, containing the most important and interesting events of the Western Reformation, is introduced by preparations in one highly-favoured spot for the future purification of the Church of Christ. The kingdom of England, mighty principally from its insular situation and maritime supremacy, and which finally obtained the glorious title of the bulwark of the Reformation, was first its birth-place. In the midst of the ravages of the Turkish sultanies, which were extending their faith with their dominion from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, before the temporary fall of the German Protestant church, before the secession of England and the other seven Protestant nations from the corruptions of the great Western church, between the years 1360 and 1380, Wickliff, the very Father of the Reformation, continued with zeal and intrepidity to oppose superstition and unmask hypocrisy. In open rebellion against one of the first political maxims of Rome, he gave his countrymen a vernacular translation of the Bible, which,

the second that ever openly appeared during the Papal domination, was the first in England. He was for a time supported by the King and the Nobles. He opposed the worship of saints and images, indulgencies, the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and transubstantiation. His adversaries, after many rebuffs, had at last the influence to obtain the condemnation of his opinions, as heresies: and yet, after such condemnation, they dared not proceed to depose him either from his benefice of Lutterworth, or *Professorship of Divinity* at Oxford. Thus Wickliff died in peace the last day of the year 1384, leaving a great many writings, which were with avidity transcribed and studied, and numbers of followers, who spread themselves every where under the name of Wickliffites and Lollards; and who, exposed as they were to the most violent persecutions, daily grew more numerous. They were laid by the laws under the severest punishments, and these punishments were inflicted without mercy; yet all who sought the true religion, read with eagerness the works of Wickliff, which were, in a space of time incredibly short, dispersed, without the aid of the invention of printing, throughout all Europe. They were studied and cherished in Bohemia: from these, John Huss formed his system; and from Wickliff may thus be deduced the origin of the formidable body of the Bohemian Hussites, whose principles remain even to this day. ‘ Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss, and

' Jerome, of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose
' opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who
' was long since dead, was called from his rest
' before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory
' was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree
' of the council. An order was issued out to
' commit all his works together with his bones
' to the flames.' (Mosheim, iii. 416.) The Eng-
lish Wickliff, it has been said, had the sacri-
legious audacity to propose innovations in re-
ligion, long before the Bohemian Huss and the
Saxon Luther proclaimed themselves heretics.
The latter would not have dared to stir, had not
England already distributed its poison among
the Germans. At a time long subsequent to the
composition of these pages, I perceived that
the learned Hales considers it as the glory of his
work to have brought Wickliff 'from the shade
to public view and admiration and imitation.'
If such were, indeed, the insecure foundation of
the glory of Hales, these very volumes, beside
a crowd of others, would rival his work in
reputation.

From about 1530 to 1547, the seemingly un-
controuled passions of our Henry VIII. were
providentially directed to the fulfilment of the
purposes of God. In 1533 he abolished the
power and authority of the Pope throughout
his dominions, gave permission for the Bible to
be translated; and in 1541 published an edict,
by which he ordered every church to have an
English Bible, and the perusal to be universally
allowed. Thus began the voice before 1542,

when Ireland was erected into a separate kingdom. This is of importance, for the seven thunders would otherwise have been eight. These were the steps towards the Reformation ; the temple was laid out ; the materials were prepared for building. Henry went no further : the time of the earthquake, which was to happen in the very same hour with the ascension of the Protestant witnesses, was yet to come. This tenth part of the Papal city was not finally and completely overthrown until the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, when at last the Gentile destroyers and disturbers of the faith lost for ever their power upon this holy ground. Then fell this street of the Roman spiritual city : England's church ceased to be like the other churches of the Western Empire, trodden under foot by idolaters : instead of a street of the city rose the temple of God on the North side of the Mount Sion ; and God is well known in her palaces, as a sure refuge. This mighty maritime kingdom, the Eye of the Reformation, became worthy, from its comparative purity, to be styled the temple of God : the ministers of this temple, unpolluted by the sore of infidelity, still wait at the altar ; and the English worshippers still, above all other nations, bow the knee before the true God and his Christ. Ireland, alas ! in sad contrast, has her Protestant ministry, to whose voice few hearken ; her pure church by law established, in apparent prosperity, and under real depression. She has a name that she lives and is dead. It is only her

geographical position which causes her to be a court of the temple: according to the symbol of Jerusalem, she is given to the Gentile idolaters, although not utterly trodden under foot; and although perhaps not under the doom of depression during the whole 1260 years, like the rest of the city. The remaining churches of that Roman Empire, symbolized by the ten-horned beast, are to continue trodden under foot to the end of the 1260 years; and it is to be remarked that not even the Germanic states are exempted, which, although partly protestant, as a whole are indisputably papal. The papal interest has always decidedly prevailed, and no Protestant prince has ever worn the Imperial crown.

It may be briefly remarked, that even upon the principle of this interpretation, England is safe from hostile force; because the temple is not to be destroyed: Ireland, moreover, is to continue a court of the temple; and in consequence the Protestant Church must stand in Ireland; and as such would not be the policy of any Conqueror, it seems that Ireland cannot be severed from the British dominions, either by foreign conquest, or internal rebellion. It should be added, that it is doubted by some whether the verb *πατειν* can signify more than simply to tread; and to tread the courts of the temple is synonymous with worshiping. Dean Woodhouse has treated upon the verb rather largely (page 288). If this idea be correct, it shews admirably the mixture of *heathen* worship in the Christian churches of the Western Roman Empire: the general interpretation plainly

remains unaffected. No further explanation seems requisite: every circumstance of the Prophecy appears in such minute fulfilment, that I am tempted to trust, it can scarcely be resisted even by those who may have hitherto been fascinated by some prior system, if system there has ever been. Its peculiar situation in the little book shall now be remarked, and all further consideration postponed to the thirteenth verse, the account of the fall of that tenth part of the city, upon the site of which this temple rose.

At the very commencement of the Prophecy of the little book, England is introduced; but not *necessarily*; for if St. John had mentioned it as an event with other events unconnected, he would not, we may presume, have mentioned the *preparations* for building the temple; but at the proper posterior point of chronology, have described this temple built. It appears, therefore, that this is a spontaneous anticipation of events, and as thus spontaneous, must have that peculiarity of purport which we should endeavour to discern.

It seems generally agreed that, although the little book contains the whole history of the 1260 years, to the Reformation is appropriated a far greater part of the book than would have been due from the *time* actually occupied. If we take the four chapters in their subdivision into verses, more than a moiety will be found exclusively relative to the first fifty or sixty years of the sixteenth century. The little book is therefore more eminently *the history of the Reformation*. As this

Reformation was in stern defiance to the beasts, ten-horned and two-horned, the temporal and spiritual Roman Empire, it became necessary that these should be portrayed. As, again, from the Reformation proceeds the vengeance of God, under the seven vials of the seventh trumpet, against the opposers of the pure faith, it seemed expedient to introduce this vengeance in the history of the Reformation; because it is consequent upon the Reformation. The subject of the little book thus appears to be the Reformation. The great angel who introduced it has been shewn to be the angel of the Reformation, or by another term, the Pure church of Christ. It must then be concluded, that the anticipated mention of England in the first and second verses, is to point out that church and nation, as first the birth-place and afterwards the bulwark of the Reformation: as the great subject, nay almost the sum total, of the Reformation. These two verses indeed cannot be other than an appropriate preface to the little book; and seem to point out the exemption of England alone from the 1260 years' depression.

The angel ere long continues to speak, and relates the commission of his two witnesses.

3. “ And I will give unto the two, my witnesses,
“ and they shall prophesy days, a thousand
“ two hundred and three score, clothed in
4. “ sackcloth. These are the two olive trees
“ and the two candlesticks before the God (or
“ *Lord*) of the earth, standing.”

A symbolical prophecy is a picture; and all the objects being visible at one view, are of course in miniature. *The times* must, therefore, be also in miniature, as days for years. A beast, the miniature picture of an Empire, could not with any correspondent propriety be said to live 1260 years. The prophetic times are therefore in miniature; and the idolatrous Empire which prevails 1260 years, is represented by a beast who lived 1260 days. It is on the same principle as that alleged symbolical symmetry, which requires that *every word*, in a symbolical representation, be symbolically understood. If, for instance, we should make the beast and not the witnesses symbolical, we represent in one ridiculous piece the beast in miniature, devouring the giant witnesses. Now good taste is principally the exercise of a nice and correct judgment, and St. John, under such immediate inspiration, could not either have beheld or written any thing, but what was in perfect unity with itself. On the same principle must likewise be understood the God and the Christ, and the Lamb; and from this principle of taste is there a sad deviation in the remark that the witnessing Reformers always appeared in pairs, as did Luther and Calvin.

As these witnesses preach for a length of time beyond the age of man, they cannot be individuals. As they are in sackcloth during the whole appointed time of the Beast's triumph, always persecuted, and once at least killed by the Beast, they are hateful to him and his coadjutor of chap. xiii, and of course not prone to their idolatries.

As they are positively said to be in sackcloth the whole 1260 days; as these days undeniably intend the exact unbroken term of the other prophecies, the 42 months, and the time, times, and a half; and yet as they lie dead in one of the streets for three and a half of these years, they must have an inherent principle of possible ubiquity: they may be prophesying in sackcloth in one place in one body, and dead in another place in another body, at the same time. The beast may take away their life from a body or bodies of them, as he does, but the spirit only migrates; and in the spirit the witnesses consist. The 1260 years would otherwise be reduced to 1256¹. Again, to those who conceive that the beast is slain, and not simply begins to sicken at the end of the 1260 years, I would remark, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, that the beast and the witnesses in sackcloth are exactly contemporary; and, by universal consent, the beast is overthrown under the seventh trumpet. Therefore the witnesses are in sackcloth during a part of the seventh trumpet. But their ascension into heaven *before* the seventh trumpet is expressly declared. Sackcloth, however, conveys the idea of mourning: heaven, thus used, of triumph. When therefore they ascend into heaven, they must, like Elijah, leaves their mantle behind. Unless, therefore, it be contended, that they can wear their sackcloth, even while in heaven, it must hence again appear that they have this principle of possible ubiquity; for they are at once triumphant in heaven and in sackcloth upon earth during the same seventh trumpet.

Again, on the same grounds, the Faithful and True, with his followers of chap. xix, who will be shewn to agree with the witnesses as well from the circumstances of the symbols as from independent interpretation, are the powers effective of the destruction of the beast. They are therefore decidedly contemporary with the beast; and when set in array against him, are riding gloriously on horses, and clothed with white and fine raiment. The witnesses, however, since their contemporary, the beast, is not yet killed, nor indeed yet depressed, must at this identical period be in sackcloth. Hence it again appears that the Church is triumphant in one place, yet at the same time under the beast, standing before the worshipped idol god of the earth, is depressed and in sackcloth. The notion of ubiquity must consequently be again resorted to. If therefore the pure faith, symbolized as we shall perceive by the witnesses, be in *any* conspicuous place depressed during the 1260 days, although at the same time it may be in another place triumphant; yet the prophecy is fulfilled that the pure faith suffers depression during the whole 1260 years. Thus in effect does Dr. Faber consider this subject. He clearly proves that the witnesses ascend into heaven before the expiration of their time of mourning, even before the seventh trumpet, which contains a signal part of the 1260 days. Their war with the beast, he therefore says, is in this case, a *particular*, not a *general* persecution. The whole scene of this *particular* war with the beast is in one country: *there* they are slain: *there* they revive and stand upon their feet.

As a clue for the discovery of the antitypes of these his two witnesses, the angel proceeds to say that they are ‘the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth.’

The seven candlesticks which thou sawest, said the great angel, are the seven churches; and we may never depart from the ground that a candlestick symbolizes a church. These witnesses therefore, as candlesticks, are churches: but they are churches in some very eminent sense; for they are *the* two olive trees, and *the* two candlesticks. Now it is, moreover, an invariable rule, that in the same vision there never are, nor ever can be, two symbols of the same thing. The same character need not and cannot at once be supported on the stage by two actors. Although ‘the prophet Jeremiah,’ says Dr. Faber, ‘denominates the Levitical Church a green olive tree, fair and of a goodly fruit, and St. Paul, adopting the same symbolical imagery, describes the conversion of the Gentiles by the figure of a wild olive grafted into a good olive, and thus producing valuable fruit,’ yet the olive trees must in this case attribute something *additional* to the idea of churches.

The olive trees and candlesticks direct our attention to the similar imagery in the fourth chapter of Zechariah, in which are two olive trees, which, by two olive branches, supply the oil into one great seven-branched candlestick to feed the seven lamps. This great candlestick *must* be a church, at that time eminently composed of seven

distinct churches, just as the ecclesiastical city has ten ecclesiastical parts, and the beast ten horns. But these component parts were, moreover, pure; for they are the eyes of the Lord; the eyes we have seen divinely interpreted, as the symbol of a wisdom; and the eyes of the Lord are representative of a *pure* spiritual wisdom. But beside their purity, they were to be the lights to light, as it were, a flame over all the earth: they are to run throughout all the earth; and this great and pure and septiform church of Zechariah is, consequently, the foundation of the most extensive faith.

In all this, and in the stone with seven eyes, it is impossible not to perceive the antitype of the seven-horned Lamb, who had the seven eyes, which were the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth; and also the antitype of the angel amidst the seven candlesticks, who had the seven stars in his right hand: in fine, with the primitive state of the Church general, after the coming of Christ, which for conciseness may be called the *post-christian* Church. ‘In all parts,’ says Irenæus, ‘the Church preacheth the truth; and this is the seven-branched lamp bearing the light of Christ.’

But this great septiform candlestick of Zechariah is most intimately connected with the two olive trees; and these olive trees are represented as the *fountains* of that spiritual light, which shone in the several branches. The olive trees I cannot doubt to be comprehensive of the Holy

Ghost, that Holy principle of Excellence, lately considered as embodied in the seven Churches and the four Patriarchates. Here indeed the Holy Ghost is considered only in two great divisions: the reason will soon appear. These olive trees in the vision of Zechariah have two peculiar branches, which supply the whole oil from the sacred fountain of oil. These two branches are thus, literally speaking, the outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace: they are the two means of grace from the source of grace; and, however novel be the interpretation, as they exactly agree with the very letter of the definition of the sacraments, they must symbolize Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord, in the post-christian, correspondent to the initiatory baptism or circumcision, and the commemorative Passover in the pre-christian church.

That a tree may symbolize life and grace is no very new idea. It is as old as the garden of Eden; in which were planted the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. That the tree of life contained the sacrament of immortality to Adam, as the Holy Eucharist to his descendants, is most abundantly proved both by Bishop * Seabury and Bishop Horne, in the first volumes of their respective Sermons. Hence may

* It is most particularly to be regretted, that these Sermons are extremely scarce. The first volume has afforded me more solid Christianity than (excepting only the Scriptures) I ever found compressed in the same bulk. It would probably repay the speculation of a publisher.

have been derived and continued the type of the olive tree, which was always a sacred plant, and permitted, as Dean Woodhouse observes, to grow up even in the temple. Now in this vision of Zechariah the trees and the candlestick are inseparably united. The Spirit is represented in the twofold state answering to the two dispensations; and renewing the latter dispensation through the two sacramental channels of grace. Thus, in ver. 5, immediately after the threatened removal of *the candlestick*, follow the words of the Spirit, ‘To him that overcometh will I give to eat of *the tree of life* which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.’ This tree will be found most peculiarly described in the xxiiid chapter. Among other singularities, it has *leaves* for the healing of the nations.

It may be expected that the seven-lamped symbolical candlestick of the temple should here be noticed; which must have been prophetical of the same dispensation. This candlestick of the tabernacle is, notwithstanding much similarity, in a very remarkable manner diverse from that of Zechariah. The common relation is obvious; yet are they so different, that it is impossible to imagine any design in Zechariah to have preserved a similitude. In this case indeed Zechariah could only have been a copyist of the description in the Pentateuch. In Exodus xxv. 37, and xxxviii. 23, there is no introduction indeed of the olive tree; yet is there a most singular symbolical substitute. Every branch of the candlestick has *knops and flowers*, to supply the place of the sa-

cramental tree; and knops, according to Johnson's definition, are any tufty tops. What is most peculiar is, that *they, the knops and branches with their flowers* (xxv. 36) *shall light the lamps thereof*; or supply that oil which in Zechariah is supplied by the two visible olive trees. That these branches really feed or light the lamp, may be perceived by every attentive reader of the passage; and it will be confirmed by Lev. xxiv. 2, where is the pure olive oil beaten for the light to cause the lamps to burn continually. In direct reference, however, to the candlestick of the temple, Zechariah describes his candlestick, as not simply with seven but with *his* seven lamps; and the angel thrice expresses surprise that Zechariah did not understand these candlesticks, and olive trees, and olive branches. ‘Knowest thou not what these things be?’ Art thou a master in Israel, as our Lord said to Nicodemus, and knowest not these things? The rebuke in this expression of surprise clearly intimates that these things might and should have been understood from the parallel type in the temple. Is it less a matter of surprise and rebuke, that neither have *we* upon the same subject, and with the same sources of information, hitherto understood these things?

As if to enforce our immediate attention to the prophecy of Zechariah in the two olive trees, and the one candlestick, St. John's angel commences with a specification of *the*, the same, two olive trees, but increases to *two* candlesticks; introducing not the one only, but two, supplied by the same two olive trees. As, therefore, we have

proved the one candlestick the first dispensation of the Church, the other must certainly be the last dispensation. They have in effect, although not altogether in name, the same two sacramental channels or means of grace. The admission into the Christian church, and the regeneration into a new life, was by the same baptism, to which was superadded for the males the rite of circumcision; while the Paschal lamb, or the bread and wine, the sacrifice bloody or bloodless, are alike commemorative of the great expiation, and alike the channels of renewing grace. Here again these churches are pure with their *two* sacraments, in contradistinction to the *seven* sacraments of the superstition, so long predominant. These two witnesses having but *one* mouth, and according to Griesbach but *one* body, are the two grand representatives of the Church general. The symbolical candlesticks and olive trees are inseparably united by the mystic branches: neither would the candlestick alone, nor the olive tree alone, compose a witness: each of our witnesses is the junction of the olive tree and candlestick, a dispensation of the pure Christian Church.

The testimony of Mede is very valuable upon this point; and the more because he confesses that the varying number of the candlesticks, as in the two visions, and the uniformity of the *two* olive-trees, had involved him in inextricable confusion. The candlestick of Zechariah, he said, denoted the Church, renewed and supported by the two Sons of Oil, *not by power, not by might,* nor by any human aid, but by the power of God.

alone, (*by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts,*) working in an invisible and wonderful manner, as these olive trees on each side supplied the candlestick with light in a way plainly miraculous and imperceptible. He then attempts to escape from the difficulty above-mentioned by intimating a suspected Hebræism, but at last confesses his inability, and proposes other *refuges* of as little avail.

Throughout the whole Apocalypse, the idea of a two-fold church of Christ is accurately preserved; the church before the advent of its Lord, and the church after the advent; the church founded upon the prophets, and the church founded upon the apostles, Jesus Christ the corner-stone of both. We have already discussed the Alpha and Omega, the Dispensation the First and the Last, with the two-edged sword of the Old and New Testament; and again (omitting the twenty-four wings of the four Living Ones) the twenty-four elders, twelve the representatives of the Jewish Patriarchs, and by them of the pre-christian church, the other twelve, of the Apostles, and by them of the post-christian church. The number of the elect is 144,000, or this twelve, multiplied into twelve, and afterwards again into a thousand, to shew the exceeding great multitude of the faithful. The symbolical city of the Lamb, or the church in a state of future triumph, the perfect cube of 12,000 furlongs, has twelve gates, upon which are written the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and twelve foundations, in which are the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

And lastly, the faithful (*after* the time of St. John, and the commencement of the latter dispensation) sing the song, not of the Lamb alone, but likewise of Moses, the servant of God. These mystic numbers are all supposed to be allusive to the two-fold nature of the Church. Some of the twelves may some day, however, receive a better interpretation from events; and perhaps in this work some such events may be anticipated. There is nevertheless preserved, upon the whole, a manifest distinction between the two churches; nor can we therefore doubt that the olive trees, strictly united with the two candlesticks, and composing the two witnesses with one mouth and body, must signify the great whole of the Church Catholic in its two component parts. One of the witnesses, one whole, the two olive trees united to the one candlestick, has been demonstrated the church post-christian; and the remaining candlestick, united to these same olive trees, must therefore be considered as the church pre-christian.

The distinction and concord between the churches scarcely need be insisted upon. Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ. Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: the ancient Patriarchs all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off: in short, according to our homilies, ‘although they were not named Christian men, yet it was a Christian faith that they had, for they looked for all the benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jesus

Christ as we do now. This difference is between them and us ; that they looked when Christ *should* come, and we be in the time when he *is* come. Therefore, saith St. Augustine, the time is altered and changed, but not the faith ; for we have both one faith in Christ.' A very slight conversation with the primitive Fathers will shew them all impressed with the same idea. ' What,' says Justin Martyr, ' is the Law ? The Gospel predicted. What is the Gospel ? The Law fulfilled.'—' I have often asserted,' says Chrysostom, ' that two covenants, two handmaids, and two sisters, attend upon one Lord. Christ is announced by the Prophets ; Christ is preached in the New Testament. The Old Testament declared beforehand the New ; and the New interpreted the Old.'

It may be asked, however, wherefore there is more than one witness here introduced ; why does not the post-christian church, with whom is our only concern, appear alone ? The first vision of chap. i. gave us a single power, the post-christian, without any allusion to the former dispensation ; and how then can we now account for the introduction ? This is a fair question ; but though it perplexed Mede, it might have been easily answered. In the course of the narration these witnesses are connected with a wild beast. For the purpose of a clear exhibition of the antitype of this beast, it is shewn by St. John as having existed long before his time ; and that either in his time, or about the seventh century, the sixth head or form of government was in existence. Five forms had, he said, fallen, and at the time of the vision

this seven-headed beast had properly but one head ; yet he saw them all ; and moreover it will be found that several of the ten horns with which St. John saw him had dropped, before the beast arose from the abyss. This symbol of an empire is therefore so constructed, as to express past, present, and future ; and the symbol of the Church, thus connected, must also correspond. The five first heads of the beast were in existence during the pre-christian dispensation. It is therefore not only allowable, but absolutely necessary, that at the first appearance of the beast, the pre-christian state of the Church should likewise appear in the symbol.

The angel declares these two personages to be *his* witnesses ; yet in an address to St. John, he uses these words, ‘ where *our Lord* was crucified.’ It hence again appears that the angel must represent some dispensation of *the church* ; for *he* has *witnesses*, and yet has *a Lord* who was crucified ; and again it appears therefore that this pure post-christian dispensation can only be representative of the Church of the Reformation.

He also *gives* to his two witnesses ; but what he *gives* to them is not so directly specified as to have precluded dispute. It has been said that he gives the Spirit to them ; but of such a gift they have no need ; and indeed symbolical personages can receive nothing except symbolical gifts. They have the Spirit *in their very nature*, because the olive tree constantly supplies the spiritual oil to the candlestick. Neither does he, I conceive, give a symbolical *power* to them, according

to another conjecture ; but he *will* give to his two witnesses *the temple* he has prepared to build. In the preceding verse, the *outer* court of the temple is *given to the Gentiles*. What then is to be *given to his witnesses* but the *inner* court, the temple and the altar ? These witnesses of the pure church are, says the angel, at some future time to find *in England* a resting place for the sole of their feet.

But if these be the witnesses of the Church symbolized, who is at this time the God, or, as Griesbach corrects it, the Lord, not his Lord, nor their Lord, but the Lord of the earth, in whose presence these witnesses are standing ? Remembering that every word is symbolical, which *can* be so considered, it is plain that the Lord or God *of the earth*, is he, whom *all the earth* (c. xiii.) wonder after ; and whom *all the world worship*, yea, *all that dwell upon the earth*, even the seven-headed ten-horned wild beast. When deified reptiles and beasts were to be met with in every city, or even village, and when the Evil Being was openly worshipped in depreciation, it is notorious that the god had not the awful and exclusive sense which it conveys to a modern ear. As to the Lord or Prince, it will readily be remembered that ' the Prince of this World' has no character of divinity. I apprehend therefore that this verse alone might prove the exact coexistence of the beast's life and dominion with the time of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth. It might likewise prove their possible ubiquity ; for in defiance of his utmost efforts they are yet

always found somewhere standing before him. Destroyed in one place, they yet stand in his sight at another; and never cease from his presence during the whole 1260 days.

‘They *prophesy* 1260 days.’ Familiar as we are with the language of Scripture from our infancy, we know that prophesying is ordinarily synonymous with preaching, as, for instance, throughout 1 Cor. xiv. The usual signification is this earnest and persuasive avowal of the principles of the Gospel.

The peculiarity, however, of the *sackcloth* demands a more extended consideration. The sack-cloth should not perhaps convey in its general sense quite so strong a sense as it does to our ears; inasmuch as this sackcloth was the common clothing of the poorer people of the East, though in the higher orders, accustomed to be clothed in fine raiment, indicative of humiliation, repentance, and mourning. When therefore we must consider this clothing as beneath the dignity of the wearers, yet in its proper sense it may not imply much more than a want of power; or, as far as the common people of the East were oppressed both in body and mind, a want of mental liberty and personal security. When indeed we bring the sack-cloth under that rigid examination which every prophetical word should bear, and do not rest in the *loose* idea of mourning, we may discover more than meets the ear at first; and it may not be too refined a speculation, in that sackcloth, *which can neither be white nor fine*, to enquire the manner of their humiliation.

All the newly-baptized in the Primitive church were clothed in white raiment, as an acknowledged symbol of the perfect purity of the new-born man. We accordingly never find the symbolical attribute of whiteness except in perfect purity. Our sins may become white as snow: the angel in Daniel had a garment white as snow: many in Daniel are made white, and fall to be made white: the hair of St. John's first angel is white, as the wool which is white as snow: the saints are to walk with their Lord in white; as were the few worthy names in Sardis, who had not defiled their garments: the elders in the symbolical heaven are clothed in white raiment, as are all the multitude who have made their robes white in the blood of the Lamb: the bride is in white; and thus are clothed, and on white horses, the followers of the Word of God, who, on a white horse, in righteousness judges and makes war. It may hereafter appear that the Word himself is clothed in white raiment; and I shall mention, last of all, the counsel to the Laodiceans to buy not raiment only, but *white* raiment, that they might be clothed, and that the shame of their nakedness might not appear.

Now the churches of Sardis and Laodicea were under the immediate inspection of St. John, so that we cannot suppose any authorized defection in the articles of faith, or among the men of Sardis any doctrinal defilement; so that the sack-cloth of the witnesses or want of the raiment, as it is *white*, must denote the want of perfection of practice, and not of faith. A church, composed

of individuals, may like an individual be pure, and supplied with a portion of the Holy Spirit, although not perfect; and sackcloth seems the medium between the white raiment and that nakedness, which is an utter want of Christian practice. It should therefore intend a state of some purity, but by no means of perfection.

This, therefore, is one of the afflictions by which the witnesses have so long been prophesying in sackcloth. Where can we find one reforming body, who can bear a moment's comparison with the primitive Christians? We ourselves are perhaps the most moral people on the face of the earth: our national faith doctrinally pure, perhaps, as when it proceeded from the mouth of its Lord; but where is the *holiness*, that something much above cold morality? where is the Primitive warmth in British Christianity? These observations may be considered as too refined: I think they are not, and the alleged defect in Christian virtues, contained I believe in the prophecy, has, in any case, been too glaring in history. We *are* the most moral: we seem in an improving state; and if it be in the nature of a seed to become a plant when the dew and the rain descend, we may become a holy people. Yet it is not until the very ending of the 1260 days that we once find mention of whiteness; and this is at least very singular. It is not until near the era of the seventh vial; when at last we find the followers of the symbolical Word on the white horses, clothed in cotton linen, white and clean. That era, however, cannot be far distant,

and, independent of prophecy, every sign of the coming times, discerned by human eyes, promises to England and the world a brighter to-morrow.

This consideration has been confined to the practice of religion. If, however, we turn from practice to principle, we can find but one reformed body which has not alloyed the pure faith with a preponderant mixture of error. They may have contended with fervent zeal, and even unto blood, for a faith very superior to the superstition of their antagonists; but how seldom has it been the perfect faith, as neither more nor less than what was once delivered to the saints, and which is now held by the Church of England.

Again, as sackcloth is not white, so neither can it be fine; and the want of the quality of fineness implies something different from the want of whiteness. Fine linen is the known symbol of triumph and magnificence. The word which we render fine linen is properly cotton linen, as if opposed to the sackcloth, which is hair-cloth; the *ευστον* to the *σακκον*; and Theocritus mentions this cotton linen as worn by females on festive occasions. If the allusion be made to the exquisite texture of the priestly garments in the Mosaic rites, the object may be farther supposed to be of *ecclesiastical* magnificence and triumph. Joseph, David, Mordecai, and many others, were on some particular occasions of triumph clothed in fine linen. Accordingly, although we never find the whiteness of raiment in an impure Power, yet '*the fine linen*' of triumph and magnificence is indiscriminately applied to the great harlot

and the pure bride, to the bad rich man in the parable and the armies in heaven who follow the symbolical Word to his triumph. Thus then do the witnesses mourn ; because their symbolical Lord delayeth his coming to rule over all nations ; prophesying in depression before the face of the Beast, always persecuted, but never forsaken.

Thus, were the witnesses to become perfect in purity yet deficient in authority, they would still in one sense be in their *sackcloth*. Again, were they to rise in authority and triumph in the symbolical heaven, (so did even the great serpent), they might still in the other sense be prophesying in *sackcloth*. They mourn alike, whether from want of perfect purity or perfect success.

But neither yet do I conceive that we have certainly exhausted the import of the prophesying in *sackcloth*, in this, as it appears to be from the next chapter, wilderness of error. The great Being calls them his witnesses, those who have one mouth and one body, who suspend the rains, who call down fire to devour their enemies, and who are finally received into heaven ; and is there not herein an allusion both to Elias, and to him who came in the spirit and power of Elias ? The Church in the Vision of chapter i, was clothed in the priestly garment ; the Church in the witnesses is in *sackcloth*. The 1260 days are days of fasting, mourning, and humiliation : the Baptist is preaching repentance in the wilderness : there are voices crying in the wilderness, ‘ Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven

is at hand.' They are the forerunners of the more full dispensation; and they prepare and make ready the way of the Lord, so that the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ. The parallel is more than plausible; and will add the idea of penance. Chorazin should have repented in *sackcloth*. The domination of the enemies of God, and the depression of the pure faith for an appointed time, however effected, is at least represented in the Apocalypse, as a *judgment* upon the Christian world for their unchristian spirit.

5. "And if any one them willeth to hurt, fire
" proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth
" their enemies. And if any one them willeth
" to hurt, thus must he be killed."

The two witnesses have only one *mouth*: according to Griesbach, they are twice mentioned, as having only *one body*; and indeed they could scarcely have two bodies, when only one mouth. The reading of Griesbach must, moreover, be correct; because many copyists might officiously have amended the *body* into *bodies*, while none would have altered the *bodies* of the two witnesses into one *body*. This circumstance demonstrates their mystical character: the first and last dispensation, forming jointly the one *body* of the Church, have but one *mouth*, the *mouth* being expressive of a lawgiver, civil or sacred. They have been already shewn to witness the same simple road to salvation through the sacrifice of the

Lamb (Page 155); and again in the scriptural words of the Church of England, ‘The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man.’

Here too it is declared that ‘if any one will hurt them,’ he should be killed. In the seventh verse, however, the beast is found to have the will to hurt them; and accordingly actually kills them. We must, therefore, understand the vengeance, as not immediate, but remote: we must understand that it is denounced that judgments should at last fall upon the opposers of the faith, who, nevertheless, might for a time be successful. Such vengeance, however, must be particularly applicable to the beast, who is immediately described as attacking and destroying them; and who is at last destroyed himself by a Rider on a white horse, styled the Word of God, whose sword proceeded out of his mouth. But it is positively asserted that the symbolical witnesses shall be the powers to gain this victory by the fire from their mouth. It is hence evident that the Word and the witnesses must typify the very same powers; and not only so (for this conclusion we shall many times independently gain), but the fire which proceedeth out of the mouth of the one, must coincide with the sword from the mouth of the other. In the course of this work it is largely proved that the sword of the mouth is the Bible. (Vol. i. 54. Vol. ii. 312, which

see.) This fire from the *mouth*, which irresistibly impels us to the idea of *doctrine*, must consequently be the same powerful word, by which weapon the witnesses are to triumph over their enemies; and finally over the very beast himself. Other arms may, nevertheless, be simultaneously employed against the beast, beside this spiritual weapon; for the beast is *taken* at last in his body; while his coadjutors ‘the remnant’ are not only *slain* by the sword of the mouth, or simply converted, but the fowls are filled with their flesh. It was shewn in our consideration of the first chapter that the spiritual destruction of the beast here intimated *may* be an act of mercy, because an act of conversion; but that even this sword may also be a sword of fire warring against the beast by the same scriptural denunciations of God’s terrible judgments against all corruption. If too the idea be correct, that the Church is to act against its enemies on the very foundation of the prophecies, revealing the future judgments against the beast, then, still more strong will be the fulfilment of the prediction, that such sword of fire should devour the enemies. Does not there seem an allusion to the passage in which the Lord declared to Jeremiah that he would make the words in his mouth fire and the people wood, and that it should devour them?

6. “These have the heaven a power to shut;
“in order that no rain should fall, the days
“of their prophecy.”

‘ Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy,’ said the Lord unto Isaiah, ‘ and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be healed.’ In strictness of speech Isaiah was no more able to inflict this plague of spiritual stupidity, than the witnesses were to inflict spiritual barrenness. Both the passages must be interpreted on the same principles: both are prophetical. Isaiah prophesied that the Jews should be hardened in heart; and St. John, through the witnesses, that the dew and rain of God’s grace should be suspended from descending abundantly on the earth for the whole term of the 1260 days, all the days of their prophecy. I apprehend, indeed, that the very fleece of Gideon for a night filled with dew, when all the earth was dry, and for a night dry when the dew was upon the earth, has an import of strict accordance. (Judges vi. 39.) But this subject will incidently appear in the consideration of the former part of chap. xix. (Vol. ii. 262.)

It is plain by the position of the words, ‘ in the days of their prophecy,’ belonging *only* to the withholding of the effusions of the spirit, that they have *not* their next power of turning waters to blood, and smiting the earth with the plagues, during *all* the days of their prophecy, but *only* at the latter end of them. ‘ Rain,’ says Sir Isaac Newton, ‘ if not immoderate,’ and, dew, and living water, are put for the graces and doctrines ‘ of the Spirit, and the defect of rain for spiritual

‘barrenness.’ In the summer there is little or no rain in Judæa. While the heats continue, the country is absolutely scorched; and the ideas of refreshment and pleasure derived from the fall of a plentiful shower, are more lively than we can well conceive. The High-priest of the Egyptians, officiating in the solemn processions, was accustomed to carry in his hand *a pitcher*, as the symbol of the grace, which his Order dispensed. When we admire the display of the Spirit in the first days of Christianity, and reflect how few; even in this favoured country, appear to be real Christians, the Christians of the Bible, among the millions who have a name that they live, we need not wander far to perceive *how* the dew of God’s grace has been suspended from the earth.

“ And a power have they over the waters to
“ turn them to blood; and to smite the earth,
“ as often as they will, with every plague.”

This, which, besides taking place within the spiritual Egypt, is evidently an allusion to the miracles before Pharaoh, is of course also a prophecy. Through the witnesses, directly or indirectly, some waters are to be turned into blood; and here, when we look forward in the course of the prophecy to discover whether any waters are afterwards formally declared to become blood, we find that under the second and third vials of the seventh trumpet, a sea and rivers and fountains of waters, all become blood.

Under these vials, therefore, this prophecy of the witnesses seems to be fulfilled. This remark is confirmed by the consideration of the plagues with which they are to smite the earth. I do not however understand the stipulation '*as often as they will;*' although it may possibly import that this power should not be early used, but only *immediately* preparatory to their departure out of the symbolical land of Egypt and house of bondage. The next plagues which we meet are when the seven last plagues are inflicted upon the earth. As therefore the beast immediately after this declaration of their power kills them, their power must be exerted after their resurrection. The death and resurrection of the witnesses are thus clearly prior to the second and third vials, and also to the seven plagues of the seventh vial; and these great final plagues are in a measure to be inflicted through the instrumentality of the witnesses. If therefore in the course of our discussion we be led to conceive that the first, second, or third vial has been poured out, we consequently imply that the predicted death and resurrection of the witnesses are *past events to us*; and that the witnesses are awaiting the hour of their final triumph in the seven plagues.

7. "And when they shall be about to make
"perfect their testimony, the beast that ascend-
"eth out of the bottomless pit shall make
"against them a war; and shall overcome them;
"and shall kill them."

Upon the subject of the expression ‘*shall have finished*,’ I might recapitulate, word for word, what was advanced in the last chapter; and as the subject is of some moment, I would beg a serious reference to the proofs there advanced, that the better translation is, ‘When they *shall be about to accomplish*, or *make perfect* their testimony: for, in a future sense, says Mede with strict propriety, should *εταν τελισθω* be turned; whereas our translation puts it in the preter-perfect tense, which cannot stand. *Τελισθω* is the first aorist subjunctive; and every grammarian knows that the aorists subjunctive supply the place of the future which the subjunctive wants; and our translation turned the same tense futurely and the same word in Apoc. x. 7. In another part Mede again expresses the same, ‘*Cum finituri sint testimonium, non cum finierint.*’ That the real import of the *τελισθω*, and its kindred *τελησθω*, is as submitted, must be obvious. The sense given by our translators is a true sense; but in this instance manifestly inapplicable. The alteration was proved in the last chapter to be not only admissible, but indispensable: in the fifteenth chapter it is indeed *voluntarily* rendered in the sense now advocated; and the proof of its accuracy in the present instance may be independently rested upon the general history of the witnesses. The 1260 days include the seventh trumpet and its effects, the fall of a tenth part of the great city, the *general reformation* of its inhabitants, and the ascension of the witnesses into heaven

after their war, death, and revival. The witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth the *whole* 1260 days. Shall they then be said to have *finished* their testimony before any of these occurrences took place? Can they be even said to be *about to finish* their testimony when such a series of great events remain? We must surely embrace the translation proposed above; nor can we think that a quarter of their term, thus filled, is sufficiently short, on comparison with the whole, to justify the expression '*when they are about to finish.*' I decline to make any allusion to the presumptive proofs established in the last chapter. Each of them can stand alone; and thus accrues an augmentation, or rather accumulation of evidence.

The next observation is upon the abyss, or bottomless pit. Now the word '*abyss*' in the LXX answers to the Hebrew word which signifies an abyss of *waters*; and Parkhurst adduces passages from Herodotus and Homer, in which our Greek word signifies *the sea*. As then the beast which arises out of this abyss is the ten-horned seven-headed beast of chap. xiii, which St. John saw rising out of *the sea*, *this* abyss must also signify the abyss of waters, the sea whether symbolical of some great nation, or of Gothic turbulence and confusion, from which the beast arose. Exactly thus, as I have found since the formation of the foregoing sentence, does Dr. More understand it. If however the sense of abyss be preferred, it may shew the *spiritual* origin of the beast.

The translation at present stands thus: ‘And when they shall be about to perfect their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.’ The necessity of yet further emendations will be hereafter shewn.

Unfulfilled prophecy is history anticipated. Fulfilled prophecy in the old age of the world will afford the most valuable records of ancient history. But it is history, whether anticipated or fulfilled, in a form of conciseness and density extreme; and as such can dwell only upon events either remarkably prominent, or of most singular eventual importance. Which then of the persecutions against the pure faith during the 1260 years has been of such a nature, and productive of such an *apostasy* as to be properly figured by the *death of the witnesses*; and of such eventual importance as to merit such signal notice above all other persecutions and depressions of the truth? It is plain that beside an accordance with the other circumstances, this struggle must be of such a nature as finally to end in the permanent establishment of a pure and mighty church. Thus, marking one of the great eras of time, does it become the proper subject of prophecy.

Now we have two data, from either of which we may discover with certainty the era in which is the *time* of their death. We are first taught that it takes place when they have nearly brought to perfection their testimony. Next, that the whole occurrence is at a period little prior to the

sounding of the seventh trumpet; because very soon after their revival, they ascend up in the cloud in obedience to a voice from heaven, and the same hour, a great earthquake threw down a street of the city. Here the second woe ended: it was declared that the third should come quickly; and almost immediately the seventh woe-trumpet sounded.

It is obvious, therefore, that the whole affair immediately followed a particularly promising display of the pure faith; that it very shortly preceded the withdrawing of some component national church from the great church of the Western Empire, and that the events contained in the seventh trumpet are *successive*. As there have been some, who have conceived that the vials were not all under the seventh trumpet, we may, until we examine their case with accuracy, beg them to reflect on the conclusion independently gained, that the whole occurrence must have been prior to the second and third vials.

As a certain wild beast will be found to be a very conspicuous symbol in the latter part of the Revelation, which, with ten horns and seven heads, ascended out of the sea, and as this beast of the eleventh chapter is twice pointed out as *the* wild beast, we unavoidably conclude that they are the same. This point granted, it would be breaking the thread of the prophecy to enter immediately into the *proof*, that this seven-headed ten-horned beast symbolizes the temporal Roman Empire. We assume it for the present on the

general consent of commentators, reserving for future discussion the whole character and proceedings of the beast. The witnesses are slain by the beast: the pure church is overwhelmed by the power of the Roman Empire at the very time when the testimony was nearly complete; and not long before the whole Western or Roman Catholic church received a tremendous shock, and one of her component churches fell off for ever from her communion.

Now it is certain that no church, which can by any possible license be called a component church of the great ten-streeted Western church *within the Old Roman Empire*, has withdrawn altogether from her communion except the Low Countries, England, Ireland, and Scotland. The Germanic and Helvetic confederacies, partly Protestant and partly Papal, have clearly failed to fulfil the prophecy of a street altogether demolished. If the late short reign of open infidelity in France be adduced, it has returned to the Romish communion, and therefore, beside other objections, it cannot by any means answer the symbol of a street thrown down and never rebuilt, but on the contrary, as we shall find, a temple built on the site. The final withdrawing of England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Low Countries, happened alike about 1558 and the two or three succeeding years. We must, therefore, look for the death and resurrection of the witnesses, in the events of a very few years prior to 1558. It will be perceived that, to avoid all

unnecessary controversy, I have declined to argue from the only plausible explanation of the temple of the city; but as the several departures of the aforementioned churches took place about the same time, the same conclusion is of course drawn, and we are in the same manner compelled to look for the death, and resurrection of the witnesses, immediately prior to the year 1558, and immediately posterior to a very promising display of their testimony.

Our eyes glance instantly upon the German Protestant association, its rise, progress, fall, and resurrection, in the sixteenth century; but as Germany in this case must have been the scene of the struggle, it should first be considered whether Germany accords with the prophet's description of the place, that is,

“In the street of the great city, which is
“called spiritually Sodom and Egypt, where
“also their Lord was crucified.”

Sodom, which has long ceased to be a city, cannot be literal; nor, in direct consequence, can either Egypt or Jerusalem. Still less can this great city be *at once* Jerusalem, Sodom, and Egypt. The change of the name may thus be intended to convey the idea that the purport is mysterious. The allusion to the *whole land* of Egypt may imply that this city is not a literal city but a state; and the specification, that in this city was the Lord crucified, clearly excludes all idea of the literal city of Rome. The literal

holy city, on the other hand, has already been trodden under foot by the Gentiles *more than* the 1260 days ; and Sodom and Egypt have *always* been thus trodden. The city, therefore, on every principle, must be symbolical. As symbolized under the names of certain corrupt societies, it must be expressive of some great church resembling those cities and countries in the particular sins of each. It is the *holy city*, once pure, now trodden by the Gentiles : it is Sodom for its spiritual lewdness : it is Egypt for its cruelty and idolatry. As the latter enemies of the Church, it has been observed, had neither name nor existence when the prophet wrote, as they eventually derived their names from languages of little or no affinity with that of the prophet, this artificial representation was partly necessary, and the prophet seems to have in view a resemblance of character. Mr. Fleming intimates, that ‘this street is a street of *the papal dominions*, or *the great city Rome* in a large sense ;’ and this idea which makes the tenth part of a city a church, and not a temporal kingdom, has unusual accuracy. Yet we might have been tempted to suppose that such accuracy would not have been unusual, since it is universally agreed that the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse is *a great Church*. Common analogy surely might have led to the conclusion that this city is also ecclesiastical, and that the downfall of a tenth could only be the fall of a Church from the Papal domination.

In this case, however, ‘*the street*,’ in the translation though very properly preceded by the definitive article, gives, perhaps, only partially the meaning of that Greek substantive, which from its very derivation is expressive of *size*, and may rather signify the breadth or broad place of the city. The word *αγορα*, throughout the scriptures translated into *market place*, would, upon insertion in this description have clearly been Rome or Italy; and it has been thought that the next in honour, or dishonour, must be Germany, the *πλαταια*, the broad, the high street, the throue of the Imperial dignity, the seat of so many Ecclesiastical Monarchs, and the scene of so many General Councils. As Germany is then a street, so does it seem to be exactly *the street*, *the great street*, if any peculiar magnitude be allowed to be expressed by the original word, or if the *πλαταια* be indeed at all within the walls of the city.

Mr. Mede’s opinion, however, which is in substance as follows, may very probably be the more correct. He apprehends that as our Lord was not crucified *in* the literal Jerusalem, but *without the gate* (Heb. xiii. 12), so the propriety of the symbol forbids that the witnesses should be slain *within* the city; for they were to be slain where their Lord was crucified. The *πλαταια*, therefore, is no street or broad way, but a place without the city. He adds that there are *many* broad streets in a great city: ‘Go out,’ said our Saviour, * into *the broad streets* and lanes;’ whereas the manner of the present expression ‘*in the broad of the city*,’ forbids that there should be more

than *one such breadth*. Again, that the beast and the witnesses were at open war; and there were on one side nations and peoples and languages, all of which saw the dead body, and as we may presume, where it fell; whereas it is neither usual to engage *within* the city, nor in such a situation could such numbers have beheld the body dead. It is, therefore, argued that the *πλατεα* is the subject dominion of the city, perhaps *broad* because of the *great* city; or that at least it must be the circumjacent country, as our Saviour was crucified *near*, although not within, the ancient Jerusalem.

This idea Mr. Mede strengthens by the observation that in the symbol of the New Jerusalem the tree of life grows on the *broad place*; whereas the city is of *solid gold*. Now as symbolical propriety would forbid the growth of a tree bearing leaves and fruit upon the ground of the solid metal, the broad place must be the breadth of ground *without* the city; and this breadth is, moreover, termed *the Paradise of God*, a term very inapplicable to *the city of gold*. This sense, however, although it open a wider range, will still leave Germany as *probable* a field of battle as any other. The city being a church, the *literal* battle (for they were not contending with the sword of the mouth, nor with the mouth in any sense, for the beast did not *devour* them, but kill them), perhaps could not be fought in the church, but on the subject secular territory, or broad place. As appeal was made to the sword of the hand, or carnal weapons of some sort, *the church*

was left. The conclusion we have gained is, that Germany is a fair conjecture for the broad place; and that the probabilities, upon the whole, preponderate on that side.

I would always be strenuously insisting upon one point: all is symbolical; or all is literal. As then in this picture a part is plainly symbolical, the crucifixion of our Lord may not be literal, either in the Lord, or the crucifixion. The Lord is, indeed, always symbolical of the Church; and as the symbolical crucifixion must be the grand depression of that Church, the crucifixion of this Lord must denote that passion of the pure church within the Roman Empire, which took place at the commencement of the 1260 years. *Thus* where the witnesses are symbolically slain, their Lord was symbolically crucified. Another, and not a very different interpretation, may be briefly noticed. Our Lord declares himself to suffer in the sufferings of his followers. (Acts ix. 5). In that great city, therefore, which overflowed with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, Jesus himself is said to have been crucified. Neither, however, of these interpretations make sufficient distinction between the witnesses and their Lord; unless we can bring ourselves to acknowledge that he, who in the fourth chapter had ascended into heaven, and sat down with his Father on his throne, came down again and was thus crucified afresh in his symbolical character, when corruption overspread the face of the Roman Empire.

On slight provocation the common translation should not be disturbed, yet forbearance may be carried to excess. I do not mean to depreciate

the labours of our translators; yet, I repeat, in the prophecies where every word is fraught with meaning, and where the very turn of the expression may make or unmake an Empire, it is to be more especially regretted that they were not scrupulously literal. The Latin version should not have had so much authority; no subtraction or addition of a single syllable should have been suffered, and, above all, there should have been avoided the error of endeavouring to improve the sense of a passage. To these plain rules had scrupulous attention been paid, I should not now be placed in an invidious situation; nor suspected of warping the words to a preconceived opinion. I had not, however, formed any system, nor indeed any opinion, upon the first adoption of the following translation. The events, which will be found so exactly to fulfil it, did not occur to me until I had been repeatedly baffled. Whether this be credited or not, I must most strongly protest against the unauthorised and bewildering intrusion of the italics '*shall be.*' In the prophecies the translation, which is the most literal must be the most exact; and the literal translation of the seventh and two succeeding verses will give a most peculiar sense, which is not to be found in our version.

“ The beast that ascendeth out of the abyss
“ shall make against them a war; and shall
“ overcome them: *and kill (or destroy) them,*
“ *and the dead body of them* in the breadth of
“ the great city. And there shall see they of
“ the people and kindred, and tongues, and

“ nations, the dead body of them days three
“ and a half; and the dead bodies of them
“ shall not suffer to be put in a grave.”

No diffuse arguments are necessary in justification of a translation scrupulously literal, and obviously demanded by the Greek idiom, on a subject wherein the most scrupulous adherence to the original text and idiom is absolutely necessary. The event will accordingly be found to have fulfilled the literal sense with wonderful precision ; while on no other translation, (though the prophecy must be already fulfilled), has the given sense fairly coincided with an alleged fulfilment.

The killing of the body seems, indeed, in an English ear an uncouth expression ; but it is not so in other languages ; and our Saviour, in Hebrew and Greek, makes a similar distinction : ‘ Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.’ (Matt. x. 28.) It is much the same with Daniel’s fourth beast, who was slain, *and his body destroyed*. St. Matthew, it must be confessed, presents only a partial parallel ; for that very peculiar distinction intimated by Daniel, is more strikingly presented by St. John. The witnesses are *first killed*, and afterwards is killed *the dead body*, or in preservation of the English idiom, *the dead body is destroyed*. After all, this *their dead body* is seen for three days and a half ! Such is the resurrection of the body : life sub-

sequently enters into the body : the body stands on its feet in security ; and finally the witnesses ascend into a triumphant establishment. Here are peculiarities which distinguish these events from any other struggles of the faith ; but the grand peculiarity by which it becomes the worthy subject of prophecy is the ultimate *success*, the consequent triumphant and permanent *establishment* of the pure faith.

Let us now attend more accurately to the characteristics of the symbolical life and death ; and here it would be inexcusable to omit Mede's definition of the death. ‘*Mori* è notione dicitur, ‘ qui in quocunque statu constitutus, sive politico, ‘ sive ecclesiastico, seu quovis alio, desinit esse ‘ quod fuit ; unde et occidit qui tali morte quem- ‘ quam afficit. Siquidem in stylo sacro, *Vivere* ‘ subinde est *Esse*, *Mori Non esse*. Quâ mente ‘ *Satanae et peccato mori* decimur, cum eorum ‘ mancipia in posterum esse desinimus, et *Christo* ‘ *vivere* cum ejus esse incipimus.’ ‘ Whosoever having been established in any state political, ecclesiastical, or any other, ceases to be what he was, comes under the notion of death ; and he therefore kills who effects such death. Thus in the scriptural style, *To live is to be, To die is not to be.* In which meaning we are said to die to Satan and sin, when we cease to be under bondage to them ; and to live to Christ, when we become his.’

Mr. Mede proceeds to an unnecessary and perhaps not very correct proof that this death is not literal ; because the death must be as the resur-

rection. As the witnesses rise again under the sixth trumpet, and as the general resurrection does not occur until the advent of Christ in the seventh, this resurrection of the witnesses is typical; and, therefore, the connected idea of death. If Mr. Mede's definition of death be allowed, yet it certainly requires very much evolution and explanation: and I shall therefore proceed to submit ideas which I presume will be found easy to be understood, as well as correct.

As the symbolical life is the character, or the public profession of the character of that which is said to live, so death is the loss of that character which is the principle of vitality. Thus death is what we might call a moral death, (Rom. viii. 6, and Eph. ii. 1,) a loss of the vital principle, or the *peculiar character* of the symbol. Since this death of *the witnesses* is *violent*, the beast in his slaying of the witnesses is to take away their vital principle, by *forcing* them to desist from their *witness*. Whenever a community with a given character is the subject of the prophecy, the loss of that character is the death of that community; and such an idea of death does not by any means imply the dissolution of that community, or the destruction of the body. The body may remain in the same state as when the life departed; or the community may still remain entire, though by the loss of the original character it has suffered a symbolical death. The destruction of the body is therefore something beyond the first death or loss of character. It is the destruction of the body politic, in which the late life existed.

The lying *unburied* a short time, or being seen in the same corporeal state in which they lived, is the open existence of the bodies politic in the same state, while yet their life, or appropriate character, is not in them.

The lying unburied a long time, even until the flesh be wasted away and the bones left dry, is not only the loss of the appropriate character, but the decay and dissolution of the former strength of that body politic, which, nevertheless, is not utterly lost from human sight. This symbol, according to divine explanation, is applicable to the depressed House of Israel, in its present state of estrangement from the Christian Church (Ez. xxxvii); while the being not only dead, but buried, adds to the loss of the life, the idea of the complete loss of the body: the late body politic exists no more.

“The beast shall make against them a war; “and shall overcome them; and destroy them; “and the dead body of them.”

The wild beast is the Roman Empire: Germany, a stage upon which the great drama may probably have been performed: the era of the struggle, the former part of the sixteenth century; and the history of the Protestant Association of that century, a probable field, in which may be sought with fair hopes of success the remarkable events of the history of the witnesses.

No prophecy is personal, or of private interpretation: the very prophecy respecting Peter

and the Church had only an allusion to *his* Patriarchate: whatever were the merits or demerits of Luther, Calvin, or Cranmer, on the one hand, or any Bishop of Rome on the other, is nothing to us. Our office is not to descant upon the history of individuals, who may have been active causes; but upon the open national events, which are the ultimate effect of these individuals exertions. The prophet therefore noticed but slightly the preparations for building the temple in England at a very early period; and we have to notice but slightly the dawn of light, which after nearly a thousand years of thick darkness began, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, to expose with more open day the foul abominations of a corrupted Christianity. Our concern is with national establishments, those striking pages in history which he that runs may read. None therefore but Acts of the whose legislature, or strictly legal Acts, as well as acts of eventual importance, may be considered as relative to our subject. In Germany, where the Diet alone has legal authority, our enquiry is only affected by the solemn Acts of that Diet. In demonstration of the strength of the body politic in which the life existed, we may notice the march and the strength of armies, or even bring private treaties into observation; but these have no relation to *the life*, although they have to the strength and constitution of *the body*.

We have already deduced the origin of the Reformation from Wickliff and England, in the fourteenth century: its progress in the fifteenth is sufficiently well known; and the sixteenth will

afford us that promising display, which is expressed in the *testimony about to be made perfect*. From the impartial historian of Charles V. the greater part of the interpretation of the history of the witnesses may, I conceive, be drawn; and Robertson, it will be remembered, wrote for no system; nor can any prejudice in favour of the Lutheran association be supposed to have existed in a member of the Calvinistic Establishment of Scotland.

About A. D. 1524, Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburg, and several other cities in Germany of the first rank openly embraced the reformed religion; and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, and other superstitious rites of popery. The Elector of Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the Prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions. In the preceding year, the Diet, as far as composed of the secular Princes (for the ecclesiastics, although they gave no opposition, did not think it decent to join with them), drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of an hundred grievances, which the Empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the Papal see. The recess of the Diet in the year 1524 was as favourable to the cause of the Reformation. (Robertson, Charles V. Book iii.) In 1526 it was almost legally established by the same authority (Book iv.); and, upon a slight check in the Diet of 1529, the Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, the Prince of Anhalt, with the deputies

of fourteen Imperial or free cities, entered a solemn **PROTEST** against the decree of the Diet as unjust and impious; and hence originated the name of **PROTESTANTS**. (Book v.)

In 1530 most of the Princes who had embraced Luther's opinions had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church: many of the free cities had imitated their conduct: almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the Papal see: the dominion of Rome, even in that part which had not hitherto shaken off the yoke, was considerably weakened both by the example of the neighbouring states, and by the secret progress of those doctrines which already in so many places undermined it; and there had necessarily been adopted a more plausible form of corruption, and a more cautious and conciliatory mode in the administration of tyranny. The Emperor, however, now ranged himself openly against the Reformation; and seemed resolved on the destruction of its advocates. Upon the near apprehension of danger, the Protestants assembled at Smalkalde; and there concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body. The opposite party, alarmed at these and other preparations, conceded for a time what they dared not dispute. Articles of pacification were accordingly agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the Diet at Ratisbon. Thus the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost

to a toleration; and were henceforth considered as a *political body* of no small consequence. (Book v.)

In the year 1539 several new members were admitted to the Protestant confederacy, and among them the King of Denmark and Elector of Saxony; so that the confederates had now the satisfaction of seeing that their dominion extended *in one great and almost unbroken line from the shore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.* The Emperor at Francfort agreed that all concessions in their favour should continue in force for fifteen months longer: Maurice of Saxony, and the Palatinate, although they declined to enter into the confederacy, openly established the pure worship in their dominions; and when at last, in the year 1546, Charles began to throw off the mask, the Protestants prepared to maintain their opinions, and ‘were enabled to assemble in a few weeks an army composed of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of an hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers. This army, one of the most numerous, and undoubtedly the best appointed of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, was not raised by the united efforts of the whole Protestant body.’ (Book viii.) Some, deceived by the Emperor’s promises, remained neuter; and some entered openly into the Emperor’s service, on the plea of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion.

In such a succession from prosperity to prosperity was fulfilled the prophecy, that the witnesses should be '*about to make perfect their testimony* ;' and in the very *impolitic* hostility of the empire, that at such a period the beast should *make war upon them*.

When the Roman wild beast first made war against the witnesses, there scarcely seemed a possibility of his success. They had '*nearly perfected their testimony* ;' and the number of 'their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had assembled them, astonished the Emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants, being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, who had served in Hungary, and about five thousand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he must have been overwhelmed by the approach of such a numerous army, which he could not fight, nor even hope to retreat from in safety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany : the forces which he expected from the Low Countries had not yet begun to move ; and were even far from being complete. His situation, however, called for more immediate succour ; nor did it seem practicable for him to wait for such distant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was so precarious.'

‘ But it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view !’

The sure word of prophecy had pronounced that *they should be overcome*; and it would profit little to trace the steps which led to the fulfilment. At the close of the year 1546, through a succession of mistakes and disasters, ‘ a confederacy lately so powerful as to shake the Imperial throne fell to pieces, and was dissolved in the space of a few weeks, hardly any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector and Landgrave, whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked out as the victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to reconcile. Nor did he grant those who submitted to him, a generous and unconditional pardon. Conscious of his own superiority, he treated them both with haughtiness and rigour. All the Princes in person, and the cities by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble posture of supplicants.’

After some delays from extraneous causes, Charles marched against the Elector of Saxony in the spring of 1547; and in the decisive battle of Muhlberg, the Elector, defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner, was finally reduced to resign his dominions into the Emperor’s hands.

The Landgrave was now left alone to contend against the Empire. His spirit failed him: the same terms were imposed as upon the Elector of Saxony: he was required to surrender his person and territories to the Emperor; and among

other humiliating articles to implore for pardon on his knees. For this purpose he was obliged to repair to the Emperor's court: he was there seized, guarded with vigilant severity, and carried about with the degraded Elector of Saxony in the train of the Emperor, to be daily witnesses of his triumph and their own disgrace. Thus were the witnesses *overcome*. This article is fulfilled; but they were not yet killed, or compelled by legal authority to desist from bearing their testimony. This could only be done by *the Diet*; and Charles, moreover, had studiously restrained throughout all his proceedings from any notice of religious affairs. He constantly professed that he only took up arms "to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanic body;" and amidst the great variety of articles dictated to all the humbled confederates, he, in conformity to his original plan, took care that *nothing relating to religion* should be inserted.

As soon, however, as he had humbled the last of his opponents, he threw off all disguise: the Diet he overawed with his Spanish troops, "took possession by force of the cathedral of Augsburg, together with one of the principal churches, and his priests having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they supposed the unhallowed ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled them, they re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship."

After some delays, from causes unconnected with the Protestants, the Emperor employed some divines “to prepare a system of doctrine, to which all should conform until a council, such as they wished for, could be convocated. This system was compiled by Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries of the Romish church, but remarkable for their pacific spirit; the last was a protestant divine, suspected, not without reason, of having been gained by bribes and promises, to betray or mislead his party. The treatise contained a complete system of theology, conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, though expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, or in scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery, was retained; and all the rites, which the Protestants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worship of God, were enjoined. With regard to two points only, some relaxation of their rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted; and even these were declared to be concessions for the sake of peace; and granted only for a season, in compliance with the weakness or prejudices of their countrymen.

“This system of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of THE INTERIM, because it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor presented to the diet, with a pompous declaration of his sincere

intention to re-establish tranquillity and order in the church, was read in presence, according to form. As soon as it was finished, the Archbishop of Mentz, *President of the electoral college*, rose up hastily, and having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to restore peace to the church, he, *in name of the Diet*, signified their approbation of the system of doctrine, which had been prepared, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. *Not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had said; some being overawed by fear, others remaining silent through complaisance.* The Emperor held the Archbishop's declaration, as President, to be a full constitutional ratification of the Interim ; and prepared to enforce the observance of it, as a decree of the Empire." Thus were killed the witnesses by the Roman beast, by the proper Roman Empire, by the secular power entirely independent of the spiritual. "At Rome indeed, as soon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and ecclesiastics rose to the greatest height. They exclaimed against the Emperor's profane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming, with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzziah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of those Emperors, who had rendered their memory detestable, by endeavouring to model the Christian

church according to their pleasure." So decidedly was it the ten-horned beast who by his own power killed the witnesses. So, as Mede might have it, were the witnesses killed without the city or the church. By their timid or complaisant reception of the Interim, by this public authorised Act of the Legislature, which was passed by the very Protestants themselves, "some being overawed by fear, others remaining silent through complaisance," they lost *their character as Protestants*, and consequently their symbolical *life as witnesses*. They ceased for a time to be witnesses of the everlasting gospel: in the prophetic language they were slain; and the body politic of the Protestants became *the dead bodies* of the witnesses, which, according to the next article of the prophecy, were *to be destroyed likewise*. It may not be amiss to add, that Mede declares this death of the witnesses to be an extermination of the Reformed Pastors out of their places and churches; and not a general extermination of the Body of the Reformed people; and makes the requisite distinction between the bodies and lives of the witnesses. He speaks of their death, as a fall from their former character, the life that they had lived as witnesses '*sive ea cum morte corporali conjuncta sit, sive secus*, whether with or without the *death of the body*.

The Emperor adhered to his resolution of carrying the Interim into full execution; but he did not meet every where with obsequious submission. He would in that case have had no necessity, no plea for the destruction of the dead bodies

politic. “ Some Princes ventured to mention scruples, and to plead for indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occasions, the firmness of the Elector of Saxony was most distinguished, and merited the highest praise. Charles earnestly attempted to work alternately upon his hopes and fears. But he was alike regardless of both. The Landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy. But Charles, who knew that whatever course the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers.

“ But it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the most violent opposition. As soon as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice, joined in refusing to admit it. But Charles, having prevailed on so many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the representations of those cities, which, how formidable soever they might have proved, if they could have been formed into one body, lay so remote from each other, that it was easy to oppress them separately before it was possible for them to unite. His first attempt was upon Augsburg. He ordered one body of Spanish troops to seize the gates : he posted the rest in different quarters of the city ; and assembling all the burgesses in the town, he, by his sole absolute authority, published a decree abolishing their present form of government, dissolving all their corporations and fraternities. From

Augsburg, in which he left a garrison, he proceeded to Ulm; and new-modelling its government with the same violent hand, he seized such of their pastors as refused to subscribe the Interim, committed them to prison, and at his departure carried them along with him in chains. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wished, and many towns, in order to save themselves from the like vengeance, found it necessary to comply with what he enjoined.

“The inhabitants of Strasburgh, after a long struggle, found it necessary to give obedience: those of Constance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled by force not only to conform to the Interim, but to renounce their privileges as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Austria; and, as his vassals, to admit an Austrian governor and garrison. Magdeburgh, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, were the only Imperial cities of note that still continued refractory (A. D. 1548);” and last of all, in the November of the year 1551, Magdeburg, after enduring the miseries of a siege protracted to twelve months, was compelled to surrender!

But there is a peculiarity in our text which, whether accidental or not, merits notice: Griesbach in the two first instances supplies *body* for *bodies*; but in the last instance the noun is undoubtedly plural. Their *bodies* shall not suffer to be put in a grave. Something beyond a riddle must, I conceive, be intended by the uncertain introduction of *body* and *bodies*; and it might be suggested that upon the dissolution of the great

Protestant body in the year 1546, the confederates never again acted as a confederated body. The *bodies* politic were destroyed one by one, state fell after state, till at Magdeburg seemed the final stroke to have been inflicted. There may not, however, be so much in this remark as in the prophecy.

Yet although the bodies were destroyed, it was declared they '*should not suffer themselves to be buried,*' or submit to an entire political extinction.

Now Magdeburg surrendered on the third of November. *On the preceding fifth of October* the Protestant body was however still proved to be in latent existence; for Maurice of Saxony and his *Protestant associates* had *privately* concluded a treaty with France, for the professed object of security to the Protestant religion and the constitution of the German empire. Here then we perceive, what the beast did not, that the dead body, which was never to permit its own burial, was still in existence; although, in exact agreement with the prophetic declaration, it was not *seen* by their enemies. It should be observed, that had this first Protestant confederacy ever been entirely destroyed, if it had not providentially been preserved in unbroken corporate existence, though unseen, *this* identical body, which had been killed, could not have fulfilled the prediction by a resurrection. Any subsequent secret confederacy would have been a new body, or at best a body risen from a grave; and in that case indeed not a body of *witnesses* at all, dead or alive, unless by such an open legal public profession of

their witness as to be inconsistent with the proposition of a private association.

Respecting the burial Mr. Mede was constrained to observe, that the not burying the bodies was an act of friendship. “The nations may seem to be friends : for if they had been once buried, there would have been but small hope of so soon a reviving again, and standing upon their feet.” Again he calls it an act of kindness : “*Qui ita occubuerunt ut non planè desperatum sit quin adhuc vitæ restitui possint, eos sepulcri claustris tantisper prohibere in beneficii loco ponendum est.*” (Book iii. Ad Cap. ii.) “*When they fell in such a way that their resurrection was not absolutely hopeless, it must have been a kindness not to have imprisoned them in the grave.*” In a short time, however, he leaves the ideas of friendship and kindness ; and conceives, rather strangely, that it was fear in their enemies which prevented their burial : they feared them not alive ; but dreaded their dead bodies ! A good quotation is nevertheless made from Achmetes ex Indorum disciplinâ. “*Si quis in somnis visus sibi fuerit sepultus, sepulcrum ipsum ad plenam certitudinem interitus ejus spectat. Defectus aliquis rerum ad sepulturam pertinentium, ad spem refertur.*” “*If any one be seen to be buried in a dream, that burial denotes his certain death. If there be any defect in things relating to the burial, there is hope.*” It immediately appears how all would have been straitened to the puzzled interpreter, by the amended translation that their own bodies would not suffer *themselves* to be put in a grave. As in

the 88th Psalm the grave is put for the land of forgetfulness, the want of burial clearly denotes a state of remembrance, or the not being put to everlasting silence.

Yet their enemies now conceived that their triumph was complete, and the cause of the Reformation irretrievably ruined. The mass was every where restored : the reformed ministers were enjoined to teach nothing contrary to the tenets of the Romish Church ; and were even prohibited to preach for the future in any province of the empire. The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded with horror, as idolaters ; and to submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates, whom they detested, as usurpers. In short, to adopt the language of prophecy, they that dwelt upon the earth rejoiced over them, and sent gifts one to another (Esther ix. 19 and 22); because these two prophets had tormented them which dwelt upon the earth. The original of *tormented*, is sometimes *examined by torment*; but the sense may be the same when drawn from the symbolical language. They examined with a watchful eye them which dwelt upon the earth, tormented them, by continual struggles against their corruption, by exposing and restraining their follies, and by abating their abominations. Thus too may be the sorrow of the woman of chap. xviii. Their whole existence, however, was now supposed to be lost. Their dead bodies were not again *seen* by the idolaters until the 18TH OF MARCH 1552, when the preparations of the Protestant party under Maurice

being completed, their army of 20,000 foot and 5000 horse was put in motion; and immediately afterwards a manifesto was published, containing their three reasons for taking arms, among which the first and foremost was *to secure the Protestant religion.*

"Maurice had now a very different part to act, but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itself to every situation. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way, as far as Augsburg, opened their gates to him. *He reinstated the (Protestant) magistrates, whom the Emperor had deposed; and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers, whom he had ejected.*"

After some negotiations with the adverse party, he again put his army in motion, on the 10th of May, and "as sixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he resolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterprise, the success of which would be so decisive, as would render the negotiations at Passau extremely short, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms." Elated with successes, in the execution of his project, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes, he pressed forward to Ehrenberg, a castle supposed to be impregnable; and fortunately reduced without loss of time a place, which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill. It was now only two days' march to Innspruck; and without losing a moment, the infantry were ordered to advance. It was proposed to have rushed for-

ward with such rapidity as to have anticipated any accounts of the loss of Ehrenberg, and to have surprised the Emperor in an open town incapable of defence.

But to delays occasioned by unforeseen accidents, the Emperor owed the possibility of his flight, in a tempestuous night by the light of torches, and in a state of debility, occasioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter. “In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he took his way over the Alps by roads almost impassable; and arriving at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote inaccessible corner.”

Maurice entered Innspruck a few hours after; and all the Emperor’s baggage, together with that of his ministers, was plundered by the soldiers. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce (with such nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he set out for Passau, to meet Ferdinand.

After further negotiations and some hostile movements, a treaty was signed, of which the chief articles were, “That a diet should be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes and dissensions about religion: That in the mean time neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince, should, upon

any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and, That if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, should continue for ever in full force and vigour."

As, however, the consideration of their cause was to be referred to the Diet, as the Diet alone, as was before shewn, and as will from other considerations hereafter appear, had power to give and take away the symbolical life, the witnesses cannot yet be said to live: *their dead body only was seen* after all their successes. Their dead body, once destroyed, began to be seen again on the day when the declaration of the body politic under Maurice was first published, which was immediately after his setting his troops in motion, immediately after the 18th of March, 1552. I have not at present the means of ascertaining the *exact* day on which this remarkable manifesto was signed, or rather published, or *rather* presented to the acting head of the Empire. If we take, however, the most reasonable calculation, and suppose it to be on *the 25th of March* 1552, *seven days after* the junction of Maurice with his army, and then reckon forward three years and a half, we shall be brought to the 25th of September 1555, upon which very day the Diet of Augsburg, *the first Diet which had been held since their symbolical death, and to which they referred their cause*, framed the famous Recess or edict by

which the Spirit of life* again entered into the symbolical dead body, and by which they stood upon their feet. As their death was moral, independent of the destruction of the dead bodies, so is their resurrection immoral, a restoration to their former state of public witness. *Exactly to a day, for the three years and a half, their bodies were seen in the state of symbolical death.*

If it be objected that from the 25th of March to the same day of September is, from the greater length of this half year, a day and a half beyond the exact half of the 365 days, I have only to say, first, that we might as well calculate to the very minutes of the natural half year, and, secondly, that this little cavil may be obviated by the easy supposition that Maurice's declaration was not signed, published, or presented to the Head of the Empire for eight days, instead of seven, after his junction with his army *on the night* of the 18th of March. But the calculation is very probably in either case pushed too far; because allowing the whole seven days, calculating from the junction of Maurice with his army, yet it is not one prophetical *half an hour*. Hours of fifteen days are frequently introduced; but these are the lowest parts of time. If fifteen days, or any greater number, were wrong in our calculation, the whole would fall, but any less number than fifteen days

* Achmetes Apotolem. 6 & 7, ex Egyptiorum et Persarum disciplina: *Si quis in sonnis suscitationem mortuorum videre visus fuerit, ea res vincitorum liberationem ac bellorum finem significat.* Apol. 6. ex calamitatibus eruptionem. Videsis Ezech. cap. 37. Mede on chap. xi. This is not incorrect, considering the loosing of the prison to the bound as a moral resurrection.

would not come under prophetical cognizance. This remark is likewise applicable to ii. 86 and 90, the calculation (already printed) of the fall of the Turkish Empire, which must be on the 25th of June 1844, or between the 25th of June and the 10th of July.

The following are the chief articles which the Recess contained : “That such Princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interruption from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or person whatsoever: That the Protestants, on their part, shall give *no disquiet* to the Princes and States who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome: That the Popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such States as receive the Confession of Augsburg: That such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the Imperial chamber on that account; and, That the supreme civil power in every state shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper.”

But there is even yet a peculiarity, and a striking one. It is not that *from God* the spirit of life entered into them, but *from the God*. In any case, indeed, a God must be symbolical; but in this, *the God* must manifestly refer to some particular object of worship, and to whom but *the God of the earth* (verse 4,) whom *all the earth worship, and every dweller upon the earth*, THE WILD-BEAST? It has been often remarked that

the word ‘God’ in the days of Paganism, of deified men, beasts, and reptiles, was quite foreign to that exclusive sense which it now bears. It cannot, since the publication of Dr. Middleton’s Treatise, and the various comments it has excited, be objected that the article τοῦ is of no weight, because throughout the Holy Scriptures the ΘΕΟΣ is frequently with the article or without it, where no reason can be discerned. This has been ably proved to be false; and were it even true, the inference must be refused, and it must be again insisted, even if the article be *ever* loosely used or refused, that at least on subjects of Revelation, where the expressions must be most dense, every tittle must have a decided import. Now as the ΘΕΟΣ is at least continually without the article in the Holy Scriptures, and though an indefinite meaning is not always conveyed by the omission, its introduction in *this* subject cannot be loose: it must be declaratory: it must point out some *particular* object of worship. In fact, however, in the rest of the New Testament, the ΘΕΟΣ *with* the article has always a *peculiar* purport, either pointing out the *Godhead* in distinction from one of the persons, or the person in distinction from the Godhead, or more frequently in opposition to the established Pagan plurality. Thus it will be found without few, if any, decided exceptions (such is not Acts v. 4), that God the Holy Ghost is without the article, as in this case less liable to use. Here, therefore, *the God* must point out the God of the earth, the worshipped beast so lately mentioned, the object of the whole earth’s worship, in the same manner as Satan is metaphorically styled the god of this world.

What then is this, except that the spirit of life entered into them from *the wild-beast*, that he who slew them recalled them to life? By the Diet of the Empire, the representative of the whole Empire, and of the seven-headed ten-horned beast, they were slain. From this Diet, or the representative of the deified beast, they again received their life. No prophecy could be more peculiar: none more precisely fulfilled. And from this part, moreover, it appears that this *street*, if it be taken in that sense, must be Germany; for in Germany alone has this representative beast his real power to kill, or make alive.

Having before alluded to the prophecy of Ezekiel, it may be as well to shew by an instance very similar and striking that it is the property of the symbolical dead body, both to move and act. (Ez. xxxvii. 12). “Behold, O my people, I will open your graves; and cause you to come up out of your graves; and bring you to the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, *when I have opened your graves, O my people,* and *brought you up out of your graves,* and shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land, *then shall ye know that I, the Lord, have spoken it, and performed it.”*

Here the dead bodies move out of their graves, and are brought up to the land of Israel *before they live*, before the Spirit of God enters them and they live, before they know the Lord who spoke it. St. John, although he do not go so far as to the expression of motion and action, manifestly implies them. So far, however, from

pushing the symbolical language to an extreme, he is much within the limits. I am not aware that any commentator has distinguished more strongly between the resurrection and the life than Mr. Bicheno. ‘As to the resurrection of the witnesses, every one will allow that it may mean a *figurative or political one*, a restoration to their rights; and no one, at all versed in the Jewish style, can be at a loss to understand what is meant by the *spirit of life* from God entering into them.’

One thing, however, is too striking and too important to be omitted. By an express article in the Recess itself, the benefits of the Toleration are declared to extend only to such as adhered to *the Confession of Augsburg*. ‘The followers of Zwinglius and Calvin remained, in consequence of that exclusion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal security until near a century after this period.’ Far be it from me to be the advocate of a party; yet I cannot but remark, that Robertson little thought that by those words he was altogether excluding the Calvinistic churches from the idea of *the witnesses of God*.

To pause in confutation of other theories would be superfluous. *There may be many false interpretations, but there can only be one true.* If the interpretation here proposed correspond to the original in every one of so many particulars, it must be true; and consequently all others are false. An interpretation, which Dr. Faber has retailed to us in his latter editions, has as much

plausibility as any other I have yet seen. Originally it proceeded, I believe, from the French; but among numerous objections, there is one decisive. Neither Dr. Faber nor his original can effectually force the historical events to answer to the three years and a half. By the aid of the rules of addition and subtraction, dating from one public proclamation of an act, and another peaceable memorial, having no concern with religious discussion or privilege, Dr. Faber has persuaded himself that there is found *something like* three years and a half, a month or two more or less. Arguing, however, from their own pages, and on some principles which I conceive inadmissible, it might not be difficult to shew that their three years and a half want little of four full years.

But one objection may be framed against prior systems, so strong and so brief, that, although it be superfluous, I cannot forbear to produce it. ‘Qualis erat testium mors, talis erit excitatio a mortuis.’ (Mede in loc.) The nature of the revival must correspond with the nature of the death. ‘*The death of the witnesses was effected by their constrained reception of the Interim.*’ Most certainly it was: by this legal and constitutional act of the Diet they were slain. But if such be the death, the revival must correspond: no peaceable embassy from a few great men, nor any manifesto whatever of a revolting General, however implicated with religious affairs, could restore the life. Otherwise the revival would *not* by any means correspond with the death. The incon-

gruity of all prior systems appears still more strongly from the alleged interpretation of the subsequent ascension into heaven. How is this ascension effected? Surely not by a treaty between the belligerents, containing, among other points, a temporary permission for the public exercise of the Protestant religion; nor even by the subsequent Diet of Augsburg, which confirmed and perpetuated this toleration. *Unless the Diet of Ratisbon, by passing the Interim, plucked them down from heaven, the Diet of Augsburg cannot be supposed to lift them up into heaven.* If the Diet of Ratisbon only killed them, the Diet of Augsburg only revived them, so that, as the body of the witnesses, the Protestant powers stood again upon their feet as they had been standing for nearly thirty years. The first legal act, the famous list of the hundred grievances, imputed to the iniquitous domination of the Papal See, was passed by the Diet in 1523. The recess of the Diet in 1524 was as favourable to the cause of the Reformation; and the decree of the Diet, assembled at Spires in 1526, being almost equivalent, says Robertson, to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to all the rest of Christendom. All that was effected in the Diet of Spires 1530 was, that after much dispute, a decree was carried by a majority of voices, that those states who had hitherto obeyed the decree issued against Luther, at Worms, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-four, should be enjoined to persevere in the observation of it, and that a prohibition should be laid

upon the other states from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the Mass, before the meeting of a general council. (Rob. Charles, Book v.) It seems very clear indeed to me, for many reasons, that they were seemingly much nearer the perfection of their testimony thirty years before, than when at the Diet of Augsburg, they gained that decree by which it is asserted that they ascended up into heaven; but before which I am convinced they could not have undergone any change affecting the life; and by which they only revived and stood once more upon their feet to witness, as a pure body.

Our great modern interpreter has, however, upon finding it indefensible, already retreated from one system upon this subject which he had openly advocated. I flatter myself of a possibility that he may be convinced that the post he has now taken is no less untenable. It is scarcely chimerical to expect this from a person, whose name is beyond danger. Such an one, by desertion of borrowed ideas, could lose nothing in the scale of abilities, although he might gain in that of candour. I cannot say, at the same time, that I expect to bring over a single *author* to any novel interpretation. The whole host of critics will be placed, I know, in hostile array against these pages. Those who, wisely or fortunately, have embraced no decided opinion of their own or of others, may be the only persons to give me attention. I may say in the words of Mede, though I can reasonably well persuade myself of many things I believe, yet had I never so much

confidence in me, as to be able to persuade another of a contrary judgment, if he were once studied and settled therein. The wit of man is able, where it is persuaded, to find shifts and answers until the day of doom ; as appears in so differing opinions held among Christians with so much and so endless pertinacity on both sides. It is sufficient, therefore, for a man to propound his opinion, with the strongest evidence and arguments he can, and so leave it. There is more goes to persuasion than reason and demonstration. It is time, however, to proceed with our subject ; and to follow the witnesses to that triumphant establishment, which they soon attained.

12. “ And they heard a voice great from the
“ heaven, saying unto them, Ascend up hi-
“ ther. And they ascended up to the hea-
“ ven in the cloud ; and beheld them their
“ enemies.”

We have now brought the symbolical witnesses through a great part of their course. We have shewn them prophesying in sackcloth ; and, when about to bring their testimony to perfection, attacked by the beast, who killed them, and destroyed their dead bodies. We have likewise seen their correspondent double resurrection, first as a body, then as a living body. In Germany, however, we see no more : from that time Germany has never been the scene of their *triumph*. They have been secure ; they have been *tolerated*. It had been experimentally shewn that it would

not be safe to attack them. Fear, perhaps inclusive of some reformation, fell upon them which saw them; but the church of Imperial Germany is still as a *whole* manifestly *Papal*. The Protestant Interest has been always decidedly inferior; and as was before remarked, no Protestant Prince has ever worn the crown of the Cæsars. We must, therefore, look to some other country for the voice which called to them to ‘come up to heaven,’ *to ascend into an eminent state of authority*. If a king, says the Indian Interpreter, shall be seen to ascend into heaven, he shall reduce under his authority a greater country than he possesses. In this interpretation of the Ascension all the interpreters of the Ethiopian and Egyptian symbols agree, and this is confirmed by Isaiah xiv. 13, 14; xix. 1, and Dan. vii. 13 and 14. In the year 1555 they received again from the Diet of Augsburg their spiritual life, and stood upon their feet. In the year 1559, after standing four days longer upon their feet, they heard a voice, which plainly was from a distance, or *from some other street*, saying unto them ‘Ascend up hither.’ In November of 1557, Mary, Queen of England, died: Elizabeth ascended the throne; and in 1559 the Reformation of this country was completely established by the legal supreme authorities. The witnesses, having been called up into a triumphant established church, went up thither in *the cloud*, with which was clothed their Lord, and which is the *established symbol of a nation*. The expression of *the cloud*, immediately subsequent to the mention of *a voice*,

seems also to intimate that this invitation to ascend proceeded from the cloud. They heard a voice, and ascended to heaven in *the cloud*. In England they remain to this day established, fostered by the laws, and guarded by the affection of the people. Their enemies *behold them* in this heaven (*the heaven*, therefore, cannot be literal); and the beholding certainly implies that degree of practical reverence and improvement even in their enemies, which has so incontrovertibly taken place.

13. "And in that same hour was there an earthquake great; and the tenth of the city fell; and there were slain in the earthquake names of men thousands seven; and the remnant very fearful became; and gave glory to the God of the heaven."

The witnesses, obedient to the voice of the cloud, ascended to triumphant establishment in England: and *the same hour* in which the witnesses ascended, there was a great earthquake. The hour, literally fifteen days, is the least period of apocalyptic time, and of course *the same hour* is inclusive of less portions of time. Now so precisely was it *the same hour* in which ascended the witnesses, and fell the tenth of the city, that by the very act of the ascension of the witnesses into England fell this tenth part of the Roman city. In the commotion of the nations, says Mede, and revolution of political affairs, a way was opened to the wit-

nesses, a power of returning into life afforded, and an increase of power and authority. The prophecy of the first verse was fulfilled: the temple of God and the altar rose upon the site of the late Papal street; and these were *given*, as was promised, to the two witnesses. Ireland, indeed, although become the outer court of the temple, was *given*, not to the witnesses, but to the Gentiles; yet, nevertheless, not trodden under their feet with the rest of the holy city. In England their enemies behold them; in the sight of their enemies they are here triumphant; and through the protection of God here shall be triumphant for ages of ages.

An earthquake is the symbol of a revolution either religious or political. Mede, as was shewn, terms this earthquake *a great commotion of the nations, and revolution in political affairs*; and St. Paul terms the symbolical earthquake in general, *των σαλευομένων την μετάθεσιν*, (Heb. xii. 27,) the *change* of what is shaken; and Haggai, ii. 21, 22, interprets it as an overthrow of kingdoms, a fall of every one by the hand of his brother. That the earth and heavens shaken (for the original cannot be limited to the mere shaking of the earth), denote the powers of the world, may be seen in Is. li. 16, where the Lord says to some symbolical personage on the restoration and conversion of Israel, ‘I have put my words in thy mouth, that I may plant the heaven, and lay the foundations of the earth, *and say unto Zion, thou art my people, Awake, Awake, stand up, O Jerusalem!*’ An earthquake overturning a city, is a revolution

overturning a great church. An earthquake overthrowing a tenth part of the city is so evidently a revolution overthrowing a tenth component part of a great church, that I cannot pause to notice Mede's strange suggestions on the subject. Upon the establishment of corruption at the commencement of the 1260 days, as described in the sixth chapter, there was also a great earthquake, affecting not a political but a religious change. Any idea, indeed, of a temporal kingdom, any idea relating to any one of the ten original temporal horns, is, as was proved, utterly inadmissible in the tenth part of *the city*. Dr. Faber, has, I conceive, been too hasty in his unqualified censure of an idea of those commentators, who, *first*, though not with *strict* propriety, applied the prophecy of the witnesses to the Smalkaldic protestants. They concluded that the fall of the tenth of the city implied, on the part of some power, a 'renunciation of the authority and abandonment of the communion of the Church of Rome.' In the designation of that power, and in that only, they erred, and erred scarcely more, I conceive, than that great commentator himself. Once or twice, however, Dr. Faber has unconsciously wandered near the goal. 'This kingdom of England,' he says, 'though it has now happily come out from the communion of the mystic harlot, and therefore spiritually is no longer a part of the great city, formerly constituted one of its ten streets, and, geographically speaking, is still within its limits.' Had this path been followed another minute, I should only have

had to tread in Dr. Faber's footsteps instead of admiring that the proper turn was neglected. England truly did *cease to be spiritually a part of the city, when she happily came out of the communion of Rome. She formerly did constitute one of the ten streets; and geographically is still within its limits.* In other words, the temple has risen on the site of the street.

What, however, is the import of the expression, that *names of men, thousands seven*, were slain in the great concussion? It scarcely need be observed, that this number is too small to be either understood literally, if even in any case allowable, or to be symbolically expressive of a very great slaughter. Now the figurative method of intimating a multitude is by the multiplication of the original number by a thousand. It has already been shewn that the symbolical 144,000 of the Church general were thus framed: The *names of men* it has been found difficult to interpret; but I conceive that the difficulty may be surmounted.

England, being one of the ten horns which grew upon the Roman beast, all of which became corrupt in their worship, the transfer of the idea was easily made to a ten-streeted Roman city, and then the Anglo-Romish church, or the church in this nation, plainly became one of the ten streets. But this idea having once been produced, the prophet is rather straitened; inasmuch as the production of this idea excludes all those pseudo-christian states of modern Europe, who formed no part of the old Roman beast, nor

had any connection with the more modern horns. As far then as my ideas of symbolical language extend, I do not know any symbol except that of 7000 names of men, by which could be expressed *the seven kingdoms*, who during the sixteenth century threw off the Papal yoke. The same shaking of all Europe, which threw down the Anglo-Saxon street of the Roman city, slew, moreover, as was shewn under the *seven thunders*, these *seven thousand names of men*, who neither formed part of the old temporal Roman empire, nor had connection with the ten horns. Observe Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Low Countries, Scotland, Hungary, and Poland ; and in these seven independent bodies, the seven clouds which spake the seven thunders, we may discern the seven thousand names of men. Seven individuals of these different countries, a Norwegian, Swede, Dane, &c. &c. would be seven names of men * ; and these, when apocalyptically multiplied by a thousand, would be the seven nations.

The death, as idolaters, does not, however, necessarily imply either their total purity, or their continuance in the Catholic Church. The street of the city might have fallen in vain, had not the temple rose upon its ruins. Thus France indeed fell in her late atheistical Revolution, but there was no reformation ; and thus great Babylon would be destroyed in vain, were not the New Jerusalem to succeed. In our discussions we

* *Hic et Act. i. 15, οὐρανά, nomina, sunt capita hominum, seu singuli homines.* Mede on Chap. iii. 4.

have seen that the idea of death is never literal. It is the loss of the character, whatever that character be. These nations, without signal impropriety, might have been termed idolatrous. By their conversion from idolatry, in the general burst of the sixteenth century, they were slain in the earthquake, slain as idolaters.

But the ultimate effects of this great earthquake have almost equalled the immediate. The remnant over all Europe were affrighted, and gave glory not to *the God of the earth*, but to *the God of heaven*. The very nations who nominally retained the Papal abominations virtually moderated their excess. “Even they,” says Dean Woodhouse, with Dr. Robertson, “who adhered to the papal communion, incited by the example of the Protestants, began to cultivate, if not in their formularies, yet in their lives and practice, a less impure and corrupt religion. Nor was this spirit of innovation confined to those countries which openly revolted from the Pepe; it spread through all Europe; and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France; and the Reformers soon ventured to contend for superiority with the Established Church, and were sometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the Papal supremacy, as well as in the Low Countries, the Protestant doctrines were secretly taught, and had gained so many proselytes, that they were ripe for revolt.

“ Even in Spain and in Italy, symptoms of the same disposition to shake off the yoke appeared. The pretensions of the Pope to infallible knowledge and supreme power were treated by many persons of eminent learning and abilities with such scorn, or impugned with such vehemence, that the most vigilant attention of the civil magistrate, the highest strains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of inquisitorial jurisdiction, were requisite to check and extinguish it.”—So far were *the nations affrighted*.

“ But how fatal soever,” continues Robertson, “ the Reformation may have been to the power of the Popes, it contributed to improve the church of Rome both in science and in morals. The Roman Catholic Clergy have gradually become as eminent in literature, as they were in some periods infamous for ignorance. The same principle occasioned a change no less considerable in the morals of the Romish clergy. The Reformers themselves were so eminent not only for the purity, but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman Catholic Clergy must have soon lost all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in some measure to their standard. In all countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any considerable intercourse, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas as well as in the morals of the Popish ecclesiastics, is manifest. In France, the manners of the dignitaries and secu-

lar clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been distinguished for all the accomplishments and virtues which can adorn their profession ; and differ greatly from their predecessors before the Reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

“ Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman Catholic Church : it has extended to the See of Rome, to the sovereign Pontiffs themselves. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted, during two centuries, by any Pontiff that resembled Alexander VI. or several of his predecessors, who were a disgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long succession of Popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is observable. Many of them have been conspicuous for the virtues becoming their high station ; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors. *Thus the beneficial influences of the Reformation have been more extensive than they appear on a superficial view ; and this great division in the Christian church has contributed, in some measure, to increase purity of manners, to diffuse science, and to inspire humanity.*”

The sum, then, is this : the measurement took place upon English ground ; while Ireland, though connected, was unmeasured, and the remainder of the national churches composing the Western

Church continued ostensibly corrupt. Germany is the broad place, in which the struggle ultimately successful. The voice of invitation spake from the cloud of the English nation; and by the means of this cloud was effected the ascent into the temple and heaven of English establishment. England and Ireland, the Anglo-Saxon tenth part, in that great concussion of this sixteenth century, fell from the corrupt usurpation of the tyrant of the great city. The seven kingdoms beyond the limits of the old Roman Empire, who about the same time embraced a reformed faith, are the slain seven thousand names of men. The remnant are they of the great Western Church, wherever they may be found, who nominally adhering to the established corruptions, virtually were awe-struck, sensibly abated of their allegiance and worship to the essential God of the Earth, and gave glory to the God of the Heaven.

It may not be amiss to ask of those who still with the utmost freedom of interpretation construe the 7000 names of men into men of name; and these seven men of name, with the utmost licentiousness, into the seven extinguished orders of French nobility, to inform us whether dukes or princes to the number of a full thousand fell in the French revolution; or indeed in any other earthquake from the world's foundation. It cannot escape the most careless observation that *the thousand* is never put for a less: generally for a far greater number. Mede uses this idea of the fall of such an unexampled number of great men

to suggest the wonderful extent of the carnage among the people! The only gleam of truth which I have found upon this subject is, nevertheless, in a subsequent suggestion of Mede, which is partially correct, but of which I was accidentally unaware until I had fully formed my own ideas and these pages. He says in effect, though he do not venture at interpretation, that ‘we may interpret names of men, as collections and societies of men, which have their names, no less than individuals. Why then are not states, cities, towns, villages, &c. &c. to be termed names of men? The state of Thebes is called by Æschines Θεβαῖον ἔδρα, the name of Thebes; and Nomen Romanum, the Roman name is used for the Romans. Why, then, may we not suppose that of these names of human societies, *whatever they may eventually be found to be*, within Rome, or within the State which is termed the Church, the number of seven thousand may be slain in this earthquake; that is, according to the scriptural idea of death, may yield to the adverse power? But we may not pronounce rashly respecting futurity, since “prophetiae commentarius sit eventus rerum prædictarum,” or (according to Mr. Kett’s apparent translation) *History is the Interpreter of Prophecy.* Need it be observed that the calculation of exactly 7000 parishes, or villages, cannot more easily be supposed a subject of prophecy than the death of so many individuals? Had Mede cleared himself of the perplexing *thousands*, he could scarcely have failed of the right conclusion. Seven names, or societies of men, had in his days

'yielded to the power adverse' to Rome; and consequently his unscriptural ideas respecting the danger of attempting an unfulfilled Prophecy need not have deterred him. Mr. Fraser I believe to have been the only interpreter of note, who has followed the ideas of Mede. '*I imagine that by the names of men, we are to understand societies of men.*'

This scheme, upon the whole, may doubtless be cavilled at; but the only *objection*, I think, that can be made against any part is, that this street of the Roman city had in fact fallen, either when Henry VIII. threw off the Papal supremacy, or when Edward VI. reformed the national religion. The obvious reply is, that this part of the city was standing in the succeeding reign of Mary. The prophet had no concern with the decidedly minor revolutions of the national faith. He could only notice the shock which threw it down for ever. Had it a hundred times been shaken, thrown down, and rebuilt, yet he saw it in 1557, standing in all its strength, and stained with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. This might be alone an answer sufficiently decisive. The lasting temple of the Church of England, moreover, was only founded, *in that state in which it has continued to stand*, in the time of Elizabeth, when the witnesses ascended into it from Germany.

I would, nevertheless, in preparation for the twelfth verse of the next chapter, bestow some attention upon the actual spirit of the four reigns, of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

When Henry VIII. threw off the Papal authority, and declared himself Supreme, the Parliament of England, among other absurdities, formally declared their readiness to believe, not only what they had been ordered, but whatever the King should be pleased to order for the future ; that is, the Papal infallibility was transferred to the King, and Henry was Pope for England instead of Clement. Empowered therefore to act as he thought proper, he went vigorously to work to fill his coffers from the confiscation of monasteries, colleges, and religious houses. Cambridge and Oxford shared the same fate with the rest : the lectures were discontinued ; and the revenues confiscated. The invocation of saints was not abolished, but restrained. He ordered the Bible to be translated ; but, finally, not to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the Pope's supremacy : it was *equally heinous to be of the Reformed Religion as practised in Germany.* He ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied transubstantiation, that whoever maintained that the Communion in both kinds was necessary, that it was lawful for priests to marry (a point relinquished by the Romish party in Germany), or for private masses and auricular confession to be dispensed with, should be *burned or hanged*, as the court should determine ! Among a number executed on the Protestant side, according to these statutes, were Dr. Robert Barnes, Thomas Jerrard, and William Jerome. These men were burned with Papists, without knowing either their crimes or

accusers. Had then the symbolical Gentiles ceased to tread under foot this part of the city in the reign of Henry VIII.? Was the temple erected? Had the pure faith arrived among us?

When the Protectorate under Edward VI. began to reform in earnest, when the images were ordered to be taken out of churches, priests allowed to marry, the old mass abolished, and a new liturgy drawn up, which retrenched some abuses, and which is the same in substance with that now used, there were at once insurrections in Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, Essex, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and in the several shires of Gloucester, Warwick, Hertford, Leicester, Rutland, and Worcester! The symbolical Gentiles were surely, therefore, scarcely expelled. When we consider this, and the perfect ease with which Mary re-established the Roman Catholic religion, can we say that it had ceased to be trodden under foot, or that the temple was built, and measured the worshippers therein? England and Ireland were in a worse state than Ireland is at this day. When the Papal interest at the death of Edward set Mary on the throne, without the slightest apprehension or difficulty she instantly restored the Gentile idolatries. The nobility, whose only religion seemed that of the prince who governed, were easily gained: the Commons were absolutely careless and passive; and without an hour's delay the Church was put precisely on the same foundations, as before the innovations under Henry VIII. Of all the hierarchy, lately called Protestant, of 9000 beneficed clergymen, there

were only five bishops and twenty-one ministers who ventured to seal their doctrines with their blood. Of the Protestant Laity, if such they could be called, not above two or three hundred dared avow the principles of a pure faith; and some of these were mere enthusiasts. When we consider all this, and the perfect ease with which the idolatries of Rome were instantaneously re-established by an individual, in a country which had certainly freedom and spirit and which had shewn them in the opposite cause, when again we endeavour to form an idea of the thousands of martyrs of every rank who, we might be confident, would now press forward either to the stake or to the cross, can we think for a moment that the late fluctuations in the national faith, or rather in the few individual rulers, were worthy of a prophet's notice?

An era of brighter events succeeded. The vices of the Papists had pleaded effectually against their faith. Wherever heretics were to be burned, the joyful monks were always present, insulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the condemned. The English were effectually converted by such scenes as these. They had formerly conformed to the reformed religion from fear: they were now internally Protestants from inclination. A religion marked with cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, was not a religion for the people of England. Elizabeth, upon her ascension in 1558, at once established the Reformation. The good will of the people from the highest to

the lowest was with her, and her cause. This tenth part of the city was demolished, and England stood up THE TEMPLE OF GOD : deep laid are its foundations : they shall prosper that love thee !

In Ireland, however, the Reformation made little progress. It was still given to the idolaters : ignorance and barbarity obstructed the efforts of truth, though supported by a powerful establishment. After a long and painful struggle, the Papists continued the most numerous and most powerful body. There is too strong an instance both of their depravity and power in the horrid resolution which was taken by the Papists in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Protestants were to have been cut off at a single blow. Above forty thousand fell before their atrocious barbarity ; and rapes, burnings, and torture, were every where the ministers of murder.

England, whatever be her faults, at that time, and not until that time, came out of the symbolical Babylon, and she has never since partaken of her abominations. The earthquake might have shaken her before : this shock overthrew her. When James II. would have changed the national faith, as had been so easily done by his predecessors, he met with disappointment, disgrace, and dethronement. He found not one man about his throne who, under the circumstances of the nation, would have dared to have sold his birth-right of religion for the richest bribe a king could offer. The bishops, not five but all, testified the readiness of martyrs in support of the pure faith.

The clergy, not twenty but all, joined with them in zeal for the honour of God; and the people with joy inexpressible crowded to offer that support, which, by God's blessing, soon became unnecessary.

In the time of Elizabeth, therefore, about the year 1560, happened that shock of the great earthquake, which threw down the tenth part of the city, spiritually slew the seven thousand names of men, and effected a mighty reformation, even in the remnant. Here according to the obvious construction ended the second woe; for immediately it is said:—

14. “The woe the second is past; behold, the
“woe the third cometh quickly.”

It may perhaps be objected that the second woe is not ended, until the expiration of the time allotted to the Euphratean angels. This objection arises, I conceive, from a resolute inattention to the conciseness of the prophet. The four angels were loosed which *were prepared* for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year. The second woe, therefore, contains the loosing indeed; but nothing more. The second woe therefore, although it may casually contain the greater part of their time and the most important of their conquests, does not by any means necessarily include the whole term; and we accordingly find that their very conquests, and much more their national existence, extended long after Papal England fell, which is the last overt event of the se-

cond woe, and after the commencement of the seventh trumpet, when the noisome sore fell upon men. In the first woe, when no other great events were in the world, and when uninterrupted attention was allowed to be fixed upon the Saracen Mahometans, then the prophet does not say, that they were *prepared* for five months, or that he saw them in *the vision*. They had power for five months ; and he describes them as before his eyes the whole time. It thus seems as if he could not keep his eyes upon these four last Euphratean angels of the second woe during the whole term of their conquests, or existence : his attention is called off by the descent of the great angel introducing this more pleasing and deeply-interesting spectacle, the successful struggle of his witnesses, and the consequent extension of the pure faith. He therefore says they are prepared for such a limited space ; and then leaves them. He must otherwise have marred the concinnity of the Prophecy. The noisome sore of infidelity was spreading from the middle of the sixteenth to its more open effects at the end of the eighteenth century. This very remarkable sore must, we may suppose, have been included under one or the other of the trumpets. Had then the trumpet been made to end in the year 1672, with the supposed end of the 391 years (years which, I am convinced, are not even yet expired), the noisome sore would then have been partly in either, and the beauty of the prophecy would have been lost. The second woe-trumpet ceased then about the year 1560, although the effects of its blast did not pass away

with the dying sound ; and we are directed to look for the third woe as an event immediately successive : ‘ Behold, it cometh quickly.’

When the first woe-trumpet ceases to sound in the twelfth verse of the ninth chapter, the prophet said : ‘ The woe the first is past: behold, there come still two more woes after these.’ It seems then that the two last woes are to run into each other : they are to come, as it were, together, hereafter. Now this trumpet ceased its effects A. D. 762, and the first blast of the succeeding has been supposed to have sounded at an interval of about five hundred years. But the third trumpet is to succeed the second ‘ *quickly*;’ or, if the Greek word have more emphasis, *immediately*. As soon, then, as the sixth angel ceased to sound, began the seventh.

As, however, it has been laid down as an indispensable rule that no word should be neglected, the word *Behold* must here be noticed. ‘ Behold, the woe the third cometh quickly.’ The *behold* will invariably be found to denote adverbially surprise excited by apparent contrariety. This will more fully appear under the twelfth chapter. The great surprise of the prophet is here expressed, that the commencement of the third woe should so immediately succeed the fall of the city, which concludes the second. Now the end of the great events of the second woe, a woe against God’s enemies, was the establishment of the true church in one place, its triumph in another, the fall of a great branch of the corrupt tree, and the glory so universally given to

the God of heaven. The prophet thus ends the division, and with a mind replete with the glorious ideas of the Reformation, spreading, as it appeared, rapidly around, and threatening the demolition of the whole fabric of corruption, he is very naturally surprised that the noisome sore, which is the first event of the seventh trumpet, should immediately fall upon men. We must for a while assume the fact, that the noisome sore is the Spirit of Infidelity. Nothing like open infidelity had appeared, when it was most to have been expected, during the days of darkness ; but when the light of truth had just illuminated the world, it seemed contrary to every principle of rational probability, that at this time a spirit of atheism should gain an extensive success. *Behold* a wonder, says the prophet, it comes quickly !

15. “ And the seventh angel sounded ; and
“ there were voices great in the heaven,* say-
“ ing, Becomes the † kingdom of the world (*the*
“ † *kingdom*) of our Lord and of his Christ ;
16. “ and he shall reign for the ages of ages. And
“ the twenty-four elders, which before the God
“ *were* sitting upon their thrones, fell upon
“ their faces ; and worshipped the God, saying,
17. “ We give thanks to thee, Lord, the God, the

* *Masc.* λεγοντες.

† † For ἡ Καστιλία Griesbach thus reads, ἡ Καστίλεια ; and Mr. Butt applies it to Protestant England. As it, however, is still *the kingdom*, it can only be thus applied by a reference to Daniel ; and if it be adjudged that there is no such reference, the sense remains as in the common version.

“ Almighty, which art and wast ; because
“ thou hast taken thy power, the great ; and
“ hast reigned.

The little book is the history of the Reformation; and the other events, although necessary to be introduced, are in a degree foreign to the purport of the little book. They are but as the field, upon which are set the occurrences more strictly relative to the church; and of course they have a density even beyond the usual compression of the prophetical style. Therefore it is that the final effects of the great whole are now described rather than the history of parts. In the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, containing a professed account of most of the operations of this seventh trumpet, the active causes are introduced; the noisome sore falls; the sun scorches; the spirits of devils go forth to deceive. These five verses exactly agree with the first five of the fifteenth chapter: the repetition seems made for the very purpose of exhibiting the correspondence.

This subject will more properly find its place within that fifteenth chapter; and there may be demonstrated what may now be hinted, that from the rejoicings confessedly introduced within the little book, the little book must contain the final triumph of the saints; and consequently, either on the general idea that the little book is exactly the 1260 years or on the somewhat more rational one that it extends to the end of them, that the utter destruction of the bestial confederacy and the final triumph of their opponents must be

within the 1260 days. Hence it is, that the seventh trumpet, although a woe-trumpet blowing a blast against God's enemies, is ushered in by rejoicing; because they are to be destroyed, perhaps indeed by reformation, which destroy the earth, because all the woes are to fall upon *the earth*, including the sea, the throne of the beast, the river Euphrates, and the great city. Whatever miseries these at first occasion, they are to be the causes which at last, within the little book, give the kingdom of the world to our Lord and his Christ. The saints shall rejoice when they see such vengeance; they shall wash their hands in the blood of the ungodly. In the same spirit Moses bade, “Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people; for he will avenge the blood of his servants; and will render vengeance to his adversaries; and will be merciful to his land and to his people.” (Deut. xxxii. 43.)

There is here, however, a peculiarity which deserves notice. It is not now the four Living ones who give glory, upon which the praise of the twenty-four elders; but there are great voices, many great voices, who say, ‘The kingdom is become the kingdom of our Lord,’ and the twenty-four answer them, as they answered the Living ones, by prostration and worship. This act they *only* perform *when* the Living ones give glory (iv. 9, 10); and it must therefore appear that these are the voices either of the Living ones, who reappear in the parallel part of the nineteenth chapter, or of their antitypes, otherwise symbolized. This Lord is, as we have proved, the

Church general; and this Christ, or Anointed One, for whom is this glory, must symbolize some particular pure Church of the present day, for which is in reservation the universal empire. The stone which smites the image becomes the mountain. It will incontrovertibly appear that England is pointed out in this and many other similar passages. The Church general is, moreover, to receive a prodigious increase of power and extension.

18. “And the nations were wrathful; and there
“is come thy wrath.”

This digest of the seventh vial of the seventh trumpet is also precisely the second Psalm in miniature, manifestly pointing out the future confederacy of the kings of the earth against the supporters of the pure faith. ‘Why do *the heathen rage?* *why are the nations angry?* He shall speak unto them in *his wrath*, and vex them in *his displeasure.*’ His wrath is come! The same subject is also magnificently displayed in the 110th Psalm.

“And the time of the dead that they should
“be judged.”

How long, O Lord God, holy and true, dost thou not judge? These were the words of the first martyrs (vi. 10); and they were commanded to wait for a season *until* the times of their brethren should be fulfilled. It appears, then, that

as soon as their brethren should be killed, God's judgments should go out against his enemies. Now the witnesses, their representatives, are *killed* on one signal occasion; and immediately the seventh trumpet sounds a blast of *judgment*. Again, we find from Daniel that the second and last persecution of the men of understanding is at some indefinite time before the appearance of the king who does according to his will. It seems, therefore, that before that appearance of the king, or the infidel power of France, the judgments actually go forth. The vials, therefore, must have already began to be poured out, and the consummation of these judgments we shall find developed in the xxth chapter.

“ And that thou shouldest give the reward
“ unto thy servants the prophets, and to the
“ saints, and to them that fear thy name, the
“ small and the great, and shouldest corrupt
“ them which corrupt the earth.”

Here it is again asserted that the destruction of God's enemies is the promised reward unto his servants, the prophets. These must plainly be the *prophesying* witnesses, which two *prophets* tormented them that dwelt on the earth, and in the days of whose prophecy there was no rain. This idea will receive future investigation and confirmation. Leaving it, therefore, for the present, it may be remarked that one of the particular instruments of destruction may be intended by the Greek word, which in our common ver-

sion, is rendered in the general sense. In fact, the original word, translated *destroy*, very seldom implies a literal destruction; and much more frequently *a corruption*. The sentence, with more exact propriety, is rendered, ‘and shouldest corrupt them, which corrupt the earth.’ The kindred verb is indeed thus translated in the second verse of the nineteenth chapter: ‘he has judged the Adulteress, the Great, who was *corrupting* the earth in the adultery of her; and has avenged the blood of his servants out of her hand.’ ‘If any man *corrupt* the temple of God, ‘him shall God *corrupt*’ (1 Cor. iii. 17). ‘Behold, I am against thee, *O destroying* mountain, which *destroyest* the whole earth, saith the Lord.’ (Jer. li. 25. In LXX. Jer. xxviii. 25). The Hebrew word for ‘*destroy*’ is rendered by the same Greek, and should be rendered by the same English verb, ‘*corrupt*’.

‘And for this cause, because they receive not the *love* of the truth that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie; and they may perish who take pleasure in unrighteousness.’ (2 Thess. ii. 11). From the comparison of the several passages of scripture one with another, and from the consideration that the corruption takes place under the seventh trumpet, I cannot doubt that these prophecies all allude to that great corruption of the latter days, that abuse of the Reformation, *the noisome sore*. They all point out the noisome sore of infidelity, the contagion of which begins to spread, when the first vial of the seventh trum-

pet is poured out, as described in chap. xvi. the larger history of the seventh trumpet. This idea will hereafter be enlarged upon. It must be remembered that the noisome contagious sore remains upon the men which have the mark of the beast, and upon them that worship his image during all the vials of the seventh trumpet; and until the old Serpent is bound after the fall of the beast and false prophet. We do not indeed find that the noisome sore is ever put away; but with the destruction of the men who bare it.

19. “And there was opened the temple of the
“God in the heaven.”

The temple can scarcely be the temple of the first verse (for it is in heaven, and that was part of the city upon earth); unless we may suppose that the temple was taken up into heaven upon the ascension of the witnesses, and their reception of the temple, which was given to them. This temple is indeed similar to that establishment of the seventh chapter in which they serve God in white robes, who have washed their robes and made them white in the Lamb’s blood, in which was the Throne of God and the elders and the four living creatures. Whether this temple, however, be the Church general, or any particular part, or that pure and eminent part in which the Church general may be said to be peculiarly embodied, in any case when the doors of this temple are opened, it must signify a preparation and invitation for the entrance of those

who were before strangers to the truth. ‘The kingdom of the world, of our Lord, and his Christ!’ The saints receive the universal empire; and the universal world receives the truth.

“And there was seen the ark of his testament in his temple.”

By the ark of his testament, or covenant, may possibly be symbolized the Jews, who are now at the ending of the seventh trumpet to become a people of some consequence in the politico-religious scale. The ark might not indeed seem an improper symbol of the Jews; yet this interpretation I do not think can be the true one. The ark of his testament in the temple is, however, certainly the same as in xv. 5, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony, which last expression is a circumlocution for the ark. (Num. i. 50). It is to be observed that each of them immediately follows the triumphal song; and that as this is succeeded by thunders, lightnings, &c. so that by the seven plagues. In the literal second temple there was no ark. The idea in the ark of a sure fulfilment of the promise is much too vague; and too vague is it that the ark is now recovered from the hands of the Philistines. I shall subjoin the opinion of Mr. Bicheno, which, I think, however, as loose as the foregoing. ‘The ark of the testament, being seen in the temple, appears to be a symbol, not of liberty only, a mere permission to enter God’s temple; but a farther advance of the kingdom of God among

men ; and bespeaks some eminent discoveries of divine truth, and superior manifestations of heavenly favour. It is the perfection of religious privilege ; for the high-priest only was to see the ark within the veil.'

Dean Woodhouse's idea is precisely similar. 'The ark of the Covenant (the sacred coffer, so called, because it contained the tables of the Covenant, into which God had deigned to enter with the ancient Church) was deposited in the "tabernacle called the holiest of all." (Heb. ix. 1—5). This interior part of the temple, accessible under the law to none but the high-priest, is now opened ; and the ark is exhibited to view. As the walls of the idolatrous Jericho fell before the ark of the Old Covenant, so will the corrupt Babylon before this. But that which seems more immediately to be signified under this exhibition is the restoration of the Gospel, of the Christian religion in its purity. The Gentiles had trodden the courts, but had never been admitted into the interior, of the temple.'

I shall only now remark, as deserving investigation, that exact as is the accordance with the last verses of the sixteenth chapter in the thunders, voices, lightning, earthquake, and hail, yet the part which relates to the cities, islands, and mountains, all of which are ecclesiastical symbols, is here remarkably omitted. The reason escapes me ; nor am I by any means confident that the closeness of interpretation in these last five verses can bear comparison with the preceding part of the chapter.

CHAP. XII.

- 1, THE WESTERN CHURCH IN THE 16TH CENTURY;
- 2, THE STRUGGLES TOWARDS THE BIRTH OF A PURE CHURCH ; 3, 4, OPPOSITION FROM THE POWER OF INFIDELITY ; 5, THE FINAL PRODUCTION AND RESCUE OF A PURE AND STRONG CHURCH, WHICH GAINS ESTABLISHMENT IN ENGLAND, AND WHICH IS DESTINED TO WIDE AND PERMANENT DOMINION ; 6, THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MOTHER'S FLIGHT IN ADVERSITY, AND HER PROTECTION UNTIL THE END OF THE 1260 DAYS.
- 7—9, ANOTHER SYMBOLICAL REPRESENTATION OF EVENTS PARTLY THE SAME, AND PARTLY IMMEDIATELY SUCCESSIVE; THE DOWNFAL OF INFIDELITY FROM AN ADVANTAGEOUS STATION IN THE CHURCH; AND, 10, 11, THE CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO IT. 12, 13, THE SUBSEQUENT OPEN PERSECUTION OF THE WESTERN CHURCH BY THE SAME SPIRIT OF INFIDELITY ; AND, 14, THE MANNER OF HER ESCAPE AND NOURISHMENT UNTIL THE TIME APPOINTED ; 15, THE VIOLENT IMPULSION OF THE MIGHTY NATION OF FRANCE AGAINST THIS WESTERN CHURCH, WITH, 16, THE MODE OF HER DELIVERANCE ; 17, THE CES- SATION OF INFIDEL ATTEMPTS AGAINST HER, AND THE THREATENED ATTACKS UPON OTHER POWERS.

" While we retrace with memory's pointing wand,
That calls the past to an exact review,
The dangers we have 'scaped, the broken snare,
The disappointed foe, deliverance found
Unlooked for, life preserved and peace restored."

Cowper's Task.

If diffidence of interpretation, as some have thought, were essential to the character of a commentator on the Apocalypse, I confess that I should often fail, though not always. In the

greater part of the present chapter, indeed, I do not feel inclined to doubt the validity of the interpretation ; but I remember that others, professing no less confidence, have nevertheless been in palpable error. Dr. Faber, indeed, who, at first with much seeming assurance, offered his attempt, has subsequently confessed that he adopted it only as '*the best of the bad*,' and has promised, that the moment he meets with a better interpretation he will receive it with alacrity. The claim upon his promise may soon I hope be made ; for from his fiery furnace, or '*crux criticorum*,' I trust that it may be possible to come forth unhurt.

I cannot, however, forbear to express the strongest dissent from that most pernicious maxim in interpretation, which even Mr. Mede promulgated, and under which even Dr. Faber has condescended to take shelter, that 'a probability may stand in the place of a demonstration, till a greater probability can be brought to shoulder it out.' Such probabilities have proved, at best, but blinds and incumbrances ; and when any such counterfeit is boldly and wilfully uttered as standard coin by him who does but suspect that it may be counterfeit, it strikes me as a very censurable literary dishonesty.

1. " And a sign great was seen in the heaven.

" A woman clothed around with the sun, and

" the moon under her feet, and upon her head

2. " a crown of stars twelve, and being with child,

" cries out travailing in birth, and pained (*in*

5. “*agony*), to bring forth. And she brought forth a son man-like, who is to rule as a shepherd over all the nations with a rod of iron; and there was caught up the child of her unto the God and to his throne.”

According to a well-known and long established custom at the time of this prophecy, virtues and vices, as well as public societies, were represented by figures, male or female, in appropriate situations and with peculiar attributes. The present age is not prolific of painting and sculpture, nor does this art of allegory excite either attention or admiration. The artists and the public have generally a reciprocal influence. The designs upon our coins and medals are by no means scrupulously correct; nor perhaps, if they were, would the public eye be at once very clear-sighted in the discovery. To this general neglect of allegorical accuracy we must partly attribute the palpable ill success of the attempts which have hitherto been made, to discover the easy purport of the prophecies in this chapter.

But another obstacle has perhaps not less impeded our attempts. From the different state of society, the difference of customs, laws, and religion, it may easily be supposed that the *concatenation of ideas* in the ancient Eastern, and modern Western mind, must be widely different. When a modern European hears of the heaven, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, he is generally carried away by imposing ideas of splendour, to which, if the subject admit of religious

admixture, there is joined consummate purity. But such ideas would not have suggested themselves to the mind of an Asiatic under the circumstances of St. John, or to any contemporaneous Christian employed in the perusal of these writings. The ancient Eastern worship of *the host of heaven*, so generally prevalent, and so deservedly esteemed an abomination, would in fact have been apt to excite ideas exactly opposite to purity. The mind of a Jew or Christian would have been at least as inclined to the sad remembrances of successful idolatry, as to the glorious ideas of a pure and triumphant faith. But the latter, almost alone, have occurred to European interpreters, who have never doubted that the most sublime purity of faith must have been intended by this woman in the heaven; clothed with the Sun, the moon under her feet, and the twelve-starred crown upon her head. Yet, on the principles of symbolical painting, the Pagan Romish hierarchy might have been drawn in the very same attire.

The heaven before us is the visible heaven or sky; as is seen, partly perhaps from the woman's sun moon and stars, and certainly from the third part of the stars of heaven which the dragon was sweeping down with his tail. This symbol of the natural heaven, or sky, expresses a system of religion, pure or impure, whose luminaries give the light enjoyed by their earth. The death-blow which Paganism received under Constantine, was, as has hitherto been thought, painted by the prophet (vi. 12), when the heavens

departed like a scroll, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair; and the moon as blood, and the stars of heaven fell to the earth. Here, on a momentary supposition, that this interpretation is admissible, the Sun must have represented the most powerful body of the Pagan hierarchy, which was probably within Pagan Rome the capital, the moon, the collective body of the heathen worshippers, and the stars, the priestly representatives of the several churches. Thus has this set of symbols been adjudged applicable to an *idolatrous* religion. Upon the various and insuperable objections to this interpretation, it is not now the time to enlarge; but I may nevertheless make the cursory observation, that the sun becoming dark as haircloth, and the moon lurid, plainly implies a gross corruption of that symbolical sun and moon, rather than any utter removal. The description is much more applicable to the Papal corruptions, superinduced over the brightness of Christianity, than to the utter and final abolition of the Pagan luminaries. It may be apprehended, indeed, on the strongest grounds, that the sixth seal is more than two centuries posterior to Constantine; and that the sun and the moon, thus become black and bloody, are and must be the identical never-changed sun and moon, which the woman wore.

But it is clear in either case (for the proofs may not at this point be advanced) that during the unbroken apostasy of the 1260 days, this heaven must be the corrupt system of religion. The sun of this visible heaven must be a visible sun, and

so far from being their visible Lord of the Church, must be as that sun which was so lately darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit, must be the most powerful church, or the proper Romish hierarchy; while the moon, as the sun's wife, is the collective body of the church. The crown is always ecclesiastical; and the stars are the representatives of the several distinct Churches. The stars, even could they be invisible, obviously could not be the twelve apostles, unless we can not only find a thirteenth apostle, who, as a star, fell from heaven at the sounding of the fifth trumpet and opened the bottomless pit, but unless we can also invent more kindred apostles to be literally at this time sweeping from the literal heaven by the symbolical dragon's tail. Is it not, moreover, obvious that as the heads, horns, and crowns of the dragon are to be understood as visible agents, analogy must demand that the woman's sun and stars should be also visible? The stars, it will be remembered, must all be interpreted in the same manner; and were once positively declared to be the angels, or bishops of the Churches, representing, of course, not the simple bishop but the body of the Clergy, the bishop and his council of Presbyters. In the same manner the interpreted king of the xviith chapter is expressive of the form of government.

Crowns, adorned with diamonds and precious stones, are still seen on the coins of the Roman Emperors; and the stars in the crown before us answer of course to the diamonds. As we shall have much occasion to insist upon an ecclesiasti-

cal import in the crowns, it may not be superfluous to observe that it is contended that crowns were in ancient times rather an ecclesiastical than a temporal badge ; and that the rulers wore them, rather as the chief priests than kings of the state. The crown before us is the *star*, not the diadem : the latter was only a fillet of white linen bound about the heads of the eastern monarchs.

A woman, in the language of symbols, is always a church ; and, as far as we are concerned, always a *true*, though by no means always a *pure* church. Were this woman pure, she would not be put away : it, however, appears (xix. 7) that, immediately after the fall of some adulteress, a *new* bride is taken to the Lamb, and a marriage supper prepared (vol. ii. 272). Now, as polygamy is not of the New Testament, she must have become adulterous : she who is discarded must have been an adulteress ; and again she is not pure, since nothing can be more clear than that she is not the same with the co-existent witnesses, with whom she is present in *the wilderness*.

This woman, moreover, from her one crown of twelve churches, is a great, *United or Catholic Church*. Had she been pure, and parallel with the witnesses, she must have been a two-fold power ; and on the idea that the stars could be individual beatified saints, must have had twenty-four stars, twelve Patriarchs for the pre-christian, and twelve Apostles for the post-christian. This woman was magnificently clothed with the sun. In the very same original word the witnesses, on the contrary, *were clothed* with sackcloth, entirely

arrayed in it; and the angel of the Reformation in chap. x. was clothed with the cloud typical of the English nation. This woman, therefore, is to be so covered with the sun, as that the antitype of the sun may array the whole antitype of the woman. Here then is some great imperial Church over which is cast some limited and particular hierarchy. How beautifully is expressed the Roman Church, the vesture, as it were, of the Catholic Church! How exact is the accordance in the very title, seemingly so contradictory, of the Church *Roman-Catholic*.

From the episcopal succession, so inviolably and unimpeachably preserved, this body had still the authority of a true church; and when indeed we lament the Church, as for nearly a thousand years a corrupted body, yet at no period was there an *utter* failure of pure doctrine within the Patriarchate of that Peter, upon whom the Church was built. The living principle never forsook her: she professes and has professed every fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith; and her strength has been proved in the production of such men, and of such a faith, as could not easily have proceeded from a body whose very vitals were affected by disease. In proof of existing purity in the worst days, I should have little else to do than to copy verbatim fifty pages from Bp. Newton's exposition of chap. xi; and to refer to some sermons of Mede, to prove that the Church was no less a Church, because less visible.

The sun with which this Western Church is clothed is, therefore, the powerful Church of Rome

proper: the moon *under her feet* is the collective Christian body subjected to the hierarchy; and the crown of twelve stars, some twelve component churches. As the ten horns of the wild beast are the ten kingdoms, into which ten only was the Roman Empire divided, so these twelve stars must be *all* the churches, the exact number which are the ornament and crown of the Western Church. Now the Prophet saw this woman at a time when she was in great agony, travailing in birth, and greatly pained to bring forth. This description, as will immediately be shewn, denotes the time of the Reformation: we should therefore inquire what were the number of national churches at a time immediately prior; and upon this enquiry there will be found the precise number of *twelve*.

St. John, enlarging upon the history of *Daniel's* fourth beast, is of course confined to those territories, which composed the utmost extent of the ancient Roman Empire, but in the use of any symbol, peculiarly of his own formation, he is of course free from all restraint; and the churches of which the symbolical crown is composed may, therefore, and must be sought on a wider surface. Our enquiry is by no means territorially confined to the ancient Roman Empire: it extends to every kingdom which, about the time of the Reformation, was nationally Christian.

These, since the national establishment of Eastern Christianity no longer existed, are all, I believe, classed in the following enumeration:—

1. *Germany*, inclusive of Austria and Bohemia, which were at this time no more than states

of the Empire. 2. *Spain*, including her subject Sardinia, and the country which we term the United Provinces. 3. *Portugal*. 4. *France*. 5. *Hungary*. 6. *Poland*, inclusive of Prussia, the whole of which, without any regal dignity, was in a state of vassalage or protection. 7. *Denmark*. 8. *Sweden*. 9. *Norway*, a separate kingdom from Denmark, though governed by the same individual Potentate. 10. *England*. 11. *Scotland*, under its native King. 12. *Ireland*. This twelfth and last was not, like Wales, identified with England. Like Norway, it enjoyed more than the title of a separate kingdom: it had its own King, its own Parliament, and its own laws. It might seem indeed to have been providentially erected into a separate, independent kingdom, for the express purpose of rounding the number twelve. The title was only first granted to Henry VIII. in the year 1542; and, as if that were not enough, the Pope, affecting that he had the sole power of erecting kingdoms, and that the erection made in the reign of Henry VIII. was therefore null and invalid, by his bull pretended to make it a kingdom in the year 1555. On every imaginable principle, therefore, it was now the twelfth. The sun of the system was shewn to be the Roman or Italian hierarchy: it must be considered geographically inclusive of Sicily; and I need not say that neither would the Prophet have mentioned, nor could the interpreter have easily enumerated, every little independent state, such as Genoa or Venice.

We must next gain some definite idea of partition. Now this woman is the mother of a man-child, and of many others. But Christ is always represented as *the husband* of the church: the husband and child cannot be one; and therefore, if even our literal Saviour had literal brethren to be warred against by the dragon, yet this man-child could not be Christ. Let us refer, therefore, to a parallel prediction of Isaiah: “Before she travailed, she brought forth: before her pain came, she was delivered of a man-child. Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day; or shall a nation be born at once? for, as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children.” Here the birth of a man-child by the daughter of Zion denotes the production of a community, its final and complete establishment; and the national birth of the Jews (the subject of the prophecy) is thus to be in a measure sudden, and without the pangs of labour. In another place the same Prophet inserts in a song of lamentation the following complaint: “Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain, and crieth out in her pangs, so have we been in thy sight, O Lord. We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth wind: we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth; neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen.” In this last passage are the pangs of labour, when at last, as it were, wind is brought forth; and thus is typified the unsuccessful strug-

gle towards the production of some form of national existence.

St. John unites the circumstances of the foregoing quotations, the pangs of labour, the cries of the mother, as in the last, with the final successful birth of a man-child, represented by Isaiah's first. Here is the successful production of some community; but not until after the most severe and agonizing struggles, and until the whole church had long and loudly groaned out the necessity of such a birth.

The whole Western Church *was* in such a state of internal trouble, in the years preceding the Reformation. From the days of Wickliff there were continual, though long abortive, struggles within that church to bring forth a Reformation. Thus Lewis XII. ordered several gold medals to be struck with this motto, ‘*Perdam Babylonis non-men;*’ and the assembly of the clergy of France, held at Tours in 1510, prove that the Gallican church fully approved the vigorous measures by which he opposed the enterprizes of Julius II. The Emperor Maximilian I. thought and acted in a similar manner; and when the German nation presented to him, in 1511, the ten complaints against the see of Rome, he received them favourably, and promised to take the most efficacious methods for redress.

More, however, is in this prophecy than appears in our common translation; for our translators really seem to have been sometimes solicitous to rectify the mistakes of St. John, whose words in a careless translation would have been,

she brought forth a son male. Now our translators, to rectify the glaring redundancy, dropped the masculine *son*, supplied the word *child*, of common gender, and entirely dropped the meaning of St. John. The word rendered ‘*man*’ was originally the metaphor for strong and vigorous, and grew at last in the Greek language to be as legitimate and ordinary an expression of the last sense as of the first. To the force of the Greek our English metaphorical *manly*, or *man-like*, does not by any means arrive, although it be often indicative of a similar sense. If therefore St. John knew his subject and his language, he certainly must be understood to express the symbolical phenomenon of a son *born in the strength of manhood*. After a most difficult birth, which indeed in the natural world is the common consequence under such circumstances of extraordinary vigour in the progeny, she brought forth a son *man-like*. This is the birth of some community which, instead of the usual weakness of political infancy, was born with the vigour of mature age. Thus the word translated into *child* in the fourth verse, and again used in the latter part of the fifth, by no means necessarily implies a state of infancy, but might be correctly rendered by the English *offspring*. I have lately found that Doddridge adopts a construction somewhat similar. He speaks of the *vigorous constitution* of the child, and illustrates by a reference to Gen. xxv. 25, where Esau is termed a child *fully made*. Doddridge, however, does not, I conceive, reach the *full strength* of the passage.

Now the son must have the *nature* of the mother; but although some have been bold enough to request that they should not be troubled to distinguish the mother from the offspring, because both symbols coalesce in one Church, I apprehend that, *after the birth*, in this particular case at least, we must find some strong distinction. The mother is a spiritual community: the man-like son therefore must be some spiritual community, once a part of the mother, and whose birth was subsequent to great pains and agonies in the producing church. Every male that openeth the womb is holy to the Lord (Luke ii. 23), by which is at least denoted some superiority in the sex. Now as the witnesses ascended into the heaven of establishment, so this man-like son, moreover, was ere long caught up, and without the mother's instrumentality or wish, unto God and to his throne; and I scarcely need pause to prove that no community can be caught up to the *literal* God or the literal throne of God. Homer calls monarchs, shepherds of the people; and this man-like child was destined to shepherd all nations with a crook, rod, or sceptre of iron, that metal in the image of the four monarchies, the emblem of Roman strength and permanence*. This pure spiritual community, therefore, so lately a part of the mother, and which without its mother's nursing care attained at once to manhood's

* Mede, with some degree of approbation, quotes the following passage:—‘Filius masculus est Ecclesiæ populus.....per quem Christus Deus, manibus Romanorum, quasi ferrum robustis, gentes regit.’

strength, is established and permanent, and destined to influence the fortunes of all the nations.

As this community is to have long permanence in a state of less power before the assumption of the universal dominion, and as we are also taught by many prophecies that the subjection of these Gentiles is consequent upon the 1260 years, to the end of which period, on every calculation, we now so nearly approach, this community must be *already* in the world. In this case it cannot be other than some one of those national reformed churches which were parts of the ancient Romish Church, and which were produced, or separated from the mother, about the time which we honourably term THE REFORMATION. But the tenth chapter enforced upon us the expectation that England should make the most conspicuous figure in the little book; and England does answer to every one of the present particulars. It is a pure church born in strength. It did not rise by slow degrees, as is usual with human establishments. Its appearance at once gave promise of future greatness. It was soon rescued from danger, and by its ascension into heaven under Elizabeth was firmly placed upon the throne. It appeared in the history of the witnesses that, according to the Indian Interpreter, if a king be seen to ascend into heaven, he gains a still more extended authority; and if any other person, he gains a royal majesty. The great church clothed with the sun of Rome was the mother; but although she had strongly proclaimed in so many councils and public acts the

necessity of such a birth, from her was received no fostering care. This Church has now enjoyed the requisite permanence ; and even on human views gives promise of a longer duration. But on revelation we may build with^{*} assurance. We had the express words of promise in Rev. ii. 26 and 27 : ‘ He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations ; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron.’ As the Church of England has overcome, and kept his works until nearly the end of the 1260 days, whereas the time is elapsed and no other nation has now the possibility of such a permanent keeping of the works, *our* glorious state must here be depicted, and in reservation for *us* must be a boundless augmentation of glory and strength ? ‘ And they that be wise,’ says the angel to Daniel, alluding as is chronologically evident to the same events, ‘ shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.’

The prophecy of the rod of iron, perhaps parallel with Isaiah lxvi. 44, manifestly refers to the second psalm, in which is the prediction of some Son of God, who shall rule the Gentiles with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter’s vessel. But not to himself, as was observed, does Christ promise this rule, but to his church that overcometh ; and thus declares the symbolical Son to be some spiritual community, and as Dr. Faber also intimates, the *same* spiritual community with the servant and the man-

child. The LXX, indeed, translate the Hebrew exactly in the Greek of St. John. This man-like son, this symbolical Son of God, is thus also identified with the Rider on the white horse of chap. xix, whose name was the Faithful and True Word of God, who is in righteousness to make war, and to smite the nations and rule them with a rod of iron. The Son of God in the Psalms, the servant of the Apocalypse, the one that overcometh, the man-like child, the Word of God, and still others, are each to have a perpetuity of universal dominion: each is to smite the same, or all the nations; and each is to rule over them for ever with this rod of iron. It is plainly impossible that two, and doubly impossible, if impossibilities could be measured and compared, that four contemporary Potentates should have *universal* dominion; and contemporary they must become at some time, because there is no end of the dominion of any. These symbolical *four*, therefore, must have *one* great antitype. All, if one, must typify England; and each, for an accumulation of evidence, may separately be proved to be significant of England. And, moreover, in the last chapter, the symbolical witnesses were likewise separately identified with this Personage; and it therefore appears that the witnesses, the Son of God, &c. &c. are all the same. As the witnesses, moreover, undeniably represent *the Church*, all these and the son man-like among them, must also be perfected in *the Church of England*. The witnesses were shewn embodied in England, so has the man-child been shewn,

and so *will* they all. This subject is so important, that I willingly expose myself to the charge of tautology. The same conclusions will be found elsewhere enforced in the same manner, and more especially in Vol. ii 291, 292.

It has been said that the rod of iron belongs *de jure* to Christ alone. That it has been attributed, I *must* allow; but so far from rightfully, that if in a sense by any means literal, almost irreverently. I cannot conceive that it belongs *de jure* to Christ to break in pieces, or bruise, or to dash into shivers, like a potter's vessel. Allowing, however, that these might be the attributes of the literal Christ, our conclusion would receive additional strength; since God and his Son, throughout the Revelation, are actually the origins of the symbol, and even the very symbols of the Church. Yet may it be asked once more, if this man-like child be the Son of this woman, literally or symbolically, who is the spouse, the bridegroom to the mother? Christ on this principle being the husband (and the investing sun, moreover, as is asserted, adorning the spiritual nakedness of his church), he cannot also be the child. And how can the Church, a spiritual community, under Christ the head, be in any tolerably unstrained sense, said to bring forth the literal Christ?

From the very small portion of the 1260 years, which *can* now be future, we have seen that the part of the prophecy which is within the 1260 years *must* be already fulfilled; while the victory which takes place at the end, and the subsequent

triumphant enthronement, the dashing to pieces and the shepherding, the victory and reign of the man-like son, whose name is *the Word of God*, and who rides on the white horse, must of course be future. The fulfilled part, as far as we have yet proceeded (but we shall find it stronger still), applies exactly and minutely to the production of the Church of Christ in much strength, though in much peril, and the speedy triumph as the pure national Church of *England*, established under Elizabeth, and to no other events in ecclesiastical annals.

It will be perceived that the birth and triumphant establishment of the man partake in the interpretation of that eventful history which was represented by the ascension of the witnesses into heaven. The ascension of the witnesses into heaven, and the ascension of the man-like son, are the very same events in the antitype. Each symbolize the triumphant establishment of a pure Church within the Roman Empire. The man-child, however, is rather more limited to England than the witnesses, whose testimony, death, and revival, were conspicuously in Germany. It is at the moment of the ascension that the symbols most intimately coalesce.

It is observable, as Dr. Faber remarks, that 'our Reformers never thought of *unchurching* the Church of Rome; though they freely declared it to have erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith. *Hence* (Dr. Faber's words are remarkably apposite to our subject) *while they rejected its*

abominations, they did not scruple to derive from it their line of ordination. Thus the symbolical language is most strict in supposing the Western Church general *the mother* of the Apostolical Church of England. The mother and her son have necessarily the same nature and corporeal formation, however they may differ in character and disposition. Having gained some confidence by our success in this investigation, we may now proceed to the symbol of the dragon.

3. “ And there was seen another sign in the
“ heaven ; and, Behold, a dragon great, red,
“ having heads seven, and horns ten, and upon
4. “ his heads seven diadems ; and his tail draws
“ the third of the stars of the heaven, and he
“ casts them to the earth ; and the dragon stood
“ before the woman who was about to bring
“ forth, in order that when she should bring
“ forth, the offspring of her *she* should devour.
5. “ And she brought forth a son man-like, who
“ is about to rule, as a shepherd, all the na-
“ tions with a rod of iron ; and there was
“ caught up her offspring to the God, and to
6. “ his throne. And the woman fled in the wil-
“ derness, where she has there a place pre-
“ pared of the God, in order that there they
“ should nourish her days a thousand, two
“ hundred, threescore.”

In chapter xx. we meet again with the *great dragon*; and there, as well as in the ninth verse of the present chapter, he is, moreover, specified

as the Old Serpent called *the Devil and Satan*, which deceiveth the whole world. In the latter instance he may not perhaps continue so strictly, or exclusively, an embodied power as in the present : the *deceiving spirit* may be rather intimated by the titles of the Prince of the fallen spirits : the embodied substance by the form of the serpent, in which he first deceived.

It has been argued that he is not symbolical ; that the Dragon who is afterwards declared to be ‘the old serpent called the Devil and Satan,’ is the literal Devil, and nothing but the Devil. This idea seems to me so loose as to be no way defensible. Independently of the precise fulfilment which will appear on another construction, it must be evident that nothing can ever justify the confused admixture of literal and symbolical language ; the result of which must be impenetrable obscurity. No rule appears more like an axiom than that if part be symbolical, all is symbolical ; if part be literal, all literal. As all the other component parts of this description, the heaven, woman, child, are symbolical, the dragon must be symbolical likewise.

As three unclean spirits, like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and of the beast, and of the false prophet, and as the beast and prophet are symbolical, so must the dragon. As in xx. 10, the dragon is to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, *where the beast and false prophet are*, as the dragon is worshipped *with the beast*, xiii. 4, and as the beast and false prophet are symbolical, so must the dragon. How then

can he be the literal devil? Had not this wild idea been countenanced by a great name, it would not have needed a line to have exposed its absurdity. When our Lord beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven, when St. Paul promised that Satan should be bruised under our feet, when the persecuting kings and people of Egypt are so often distinguished by the title of dragon, were these literal or metaphorical Dragons and Satans? Yet these were actually intermixed with literal descriptions; while in the proper Apocalypse is not one literal word. Mr. Bicheno is with reason “a little surprised that men are to be found in the nineteenth century, who maintain that, because the dragon is called the devil seven times in the Apocalypse, therefore he is not the symbol of the Roman empire, but the devil, in the most literal and common sense of the word; for if any one symbol through the whole of the Apocalyptic scenery be more plain than another, it is this.”

If, now, the Devil, that great enemy of God be symbolical, so must in accordance the Deity himself. Here then another proof flows into the general channel. Again, if the Deity and the Christ, as has been proved in our consideration of every preceding chapter, be symbolical, so must the Enemy. Each confirms the other: either separately proved, makes almost superfluous the proof of the other. The combination is irresistibly strong.

A remark of Dr. Faber's may be inserted, lest too much weight should be given to it. “It is

almost superfluous to observe that the Dragon of the ancients was not the poetical monster of the middle ages, but a large serpent. What St. John beheld was a great red snake with seven heads and ten horns, not a creature with four legs and two wings like the fabulous griffin, as the license of painters is wont ridiculously to represent the apocalyptic dragon." How then could the dragon have *stood* before the woman, while too *his tail* was brandished against the stars of heaven? Winged lions and *griffins* are still to be seen on the ruins of Persepolis.

At the time immediately preceding the birth of the man, whose destruction when born he attempts in vain, this Dragon is seen firmly standing in the same heaven with the woman; and with seven heads and ten horus, has so far the appearance of the wild beast described in the next chapter. But we do not find upon the beast, the tail which *at this very time* was *drawing* the third of the stars of the heaven, and casting them to the ground. At first he was very far from evil intentions against the woman, for he might plainly have destroyed her in the helpless state of parturition, and have thus infallibly destroyed the child in her womb; but after the birth, rescue, and enthronement of the manly son, the woman perceives a growing aversion and distrust, and flees in the wilderness.

The colour of the Dragon is fiery, a reddish colour, particularly observable in one formidable species of serpent. It is the same colour as the horse in the symbol of vi. 4, which denoted "that peace should be taken from the earth, and that

they should kill one another." "The colour of red is of joy, from success in war and terror to enemies." The colour of the Dragon may denote, therefore, his persecuting spirit, and his formidable success in all his warfare; and it is observable that in the twentieth chapter, when his allies are cast down, and his hopes desperate, he does not appear as the *red* Dragon, but simply as the great Dragon.

The description of the deeds of the Dragon is continued in some of the subsequent chapters; but the part under consideration will suffice for exhibition of the antitype.

This symbolical Dragon was immediately before the Reformation, in the same visible heaven or established system of religion. He stood; he had a firm footing in it. He at first tolerated, or perhaps cherished the Western Church; but a decided hostility was consequent on the establishment of the Church of England, effected so sorely against his will. Before that event, he was in some measure identified with the Roman Empire, or at least acted in part by its instrumentality and under its appearance. He was, nevertheless, by some other means at that time sweeping down a distinct third of the Christian Church general.

These are proceedings sufficiently characteristic; and the more, because in appearance full of inconsistency and contrariety. We have only to observe at the outset, that the Dragon seeking the destruction of the man-like son, shews a decided hostility against the pure faith.

Now these are the only enemies of the pure faith,

with which our inquiry can possibly be concerned. 1. Absolute Paganism, considered as existing until the establishment of Christianity under Constantine. 2. The temporal Roman Empire, considered as in nominal Christian existence from the establishment under Constantine. 3. The Papal domination from the beginning of the seventh century, when this domination commenced. 4. Mohammedanism ; and, 5. Infidelity, considered as existing wherever Christianity is disbelieved, and of course including Paganism and Mohammedanism, and, in a measure, corrupted Christianity.

The Dragon cannot be the Pagan first ; since he is contemporary with the Reformation. He cannot be the second ; because for the temporal Roman Empire we should have beheld the famous wild beast in his own person, and not a serpent with some degree of resemblance ; and moreover this Dragon has persecuted, from the establishment of the Church of England, that domination which the beast has hitherto for the most part protected. He cannot be the third, which he persecutes. He cannot be properly the fourth ; for the fourth had no direct influence at all ; and all the indirect influence was in favour of the Reformation. It remains that he must symbolize the fifth, the Spirit of Infidelity or Antichrist, whether Pagan or Mahometan, Deist or Atheist. Mr. Lowman, from different sources of argument, comes to a conclusion of the same general nature. He speaks of the victory of Christianity over Heathenism, and the effectual stop which was put to the Mahometan impostor in the countries of the West.

In conclusion, the Dragon, or that Serpent, who was the first teacher of unbelief ('Thou shalt not surely die') symbolizes the Spirit of Infidelity, or Antichrist, existing openly wheresoever the name of Christ is rejected, as in the Pagan Empire of chap. xx, and now lurking in the disguise of the Roman Empire papal. Mede calls him Satan *in concreto*, as he possessed the seven-headed Empire, 'the soul of that bloody body,'

"Chief monster that has plagued the nations yet!"

It was the Spirit of Infidelity, which before the era of the Reformation was not unfavourable to the Western Church; who while the Church was a fit instrument of evil, leagued with her, and tolerated her remaining virtue for the sake of her abundant vice. When, however, it was shewn that she had still sufficient strength to conceive and bring forth a pure and manly offspring, and that she began, as it were, to repent of her adulteries, he became distrustful and hated her; and, as hereafter will more fully be shewn, avowedly endeavoured to sweep her from the face of the earth with a flood of atheistical violence. He is painted in part under the known appearance of the fourth or Roman destroyer; because the Pagan Spirit of Infidelity and Antichrist, although he had delegated his power to the beast, was now acting by the instrumentality of a form of that Power; so that according to the notorious fact the Western Empire was substantially infidel. "Infidelity," says Dr. Faber, "prevailed even among the

Popes themselves, as if disgusted with the absurdities of the very superstition which was so profitable to them, they had sought refuge in the bosom of atheism. The blasphemy of Leo X. is well known. ‘This fable of Jesus Christ,’ said he to Cardinal Bembo, ‘hath done us good service.’ Even in the thirteenth century Mosheijin complained that “the superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited as the true religion of Christ, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable, invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood.” Thus was the infidel power and life of the Pagan Roman Empire to the sixteenth century embodied in the Papal.

There is yet a little peculiarity in that appearance of the beast which the dragon here assumes. Here, while persecuting the truth, the seven crowns ecclesiastical are on the seven heads; while in the description of the Roman beast proper in the next chapter, the heads are not crowned, but the horns. The event is partially explanatory: the head, not the horns, was now in action. The churches of the ten horns or kingdoms were at this time clearly in favour of the woman; and some of them in favour even of her seed. They

were the very stars upon her crowns. When the horns give their crowns and power to the beast's seventh head in the next chapter, they give what they have withdrawn from the woman. As the Dragon in this case is the Spirit of Infidelity, which has assumed the shapes of Pagan and Papal idolatry, the seven crowns are correctly placed upon the heads; because the Dragon stands in the predicament of having, both under the Pagan and Papal heads, persecuted the church by the opposition of a corrupt church. Therefore were the heads thus crowned, before the existence of the ten horns. As heads are forms of government, and horns independent nations, it is most manifest that unless the crowns be construed in an ecclesiastical sense, they are redundant; the heads and horns the same without as with the crowns.

But at this time of the Reformation he appears as a beast compounded of the Roman and of some other power, by which he is simultaneously drawing the stars from heaven to earth, or throwing down some national churches from an establishment. This point deserves particular attention. When the sixth angel sounded, the rise and progress of the Turkish Mahometan Empire are minutely described; and the progress of the Turkish arms carries us a century beyond the Reformation. They were therefore ravaging at the very date of our present prophecy. It was said of them that they had *power in their tails*, for their tails were like unto *serpents*, and had heads, and *with them* they do hurt. *By these*

serpent-like tails were the third part of men killed. This death of the third part of men is their national extinction; and does not necessarily include the death of their religion. With the Turkish arms, however, extended the religion of Mahomet; and the glory of the Christian churches of the East was dismally obscured. The tails of these serpents were at this very time, to use the symbolical language, casting the *stars* from heaven to the earth. As Mohammedanism, therefore, is an Antichrist, or a branch of the Spirit of Infidelity, it is evident that this tail of the symbolical Serpent, which was at that time dragging down from establishment to depression some Christian churches, is the very same power of the Euphratean horsemen, which was at the same time effecting the same purpose. Here, then, is reconciled the apparent contrariety. Tolerating and using the Church with her twelve stars in one place; yet at the same time sweeping similar stars down at another: at first tolerating the Western Church; but after the triumphant establishment of the Church of England in despite of his malice, endeavouring to carry her also away from the face of the earth, to pluck down also her starry crown from heaven to earth.

As Satan thus symbolizes the power of Infidelity, Pergamos, which (ii. 12) is called the throne of Satan, should appear in some peculiar manner to have been the throne of Infidelity. “Pliny the Elder,” says Dean Woodhouse, “who wrote but a short time before the date of this revelation, describes it as the most famous city in Asia. A

heathen metropolis would naturally become a central seat of corruptive doctrines and morals, and in this sense it might be called ‘*the throne of Satan*:’ it might also acquire this appellation from being the seat of the Pagan persecuting government, whence issued the edicts and instruments of persecution; and it appears that Antipas, the faithful martyr, was slain here. It was also a grand seat of heathen learning, because its famous library of 200,000 volumes would necessarily attract the residence of the learned; whence also from this place would probably be derived ‘that philosophy and vain deceit,’ against which, as corruptive of Christianity, the apostle warns his disciples; and the *βαθη*, or depths of Gnostical learning, are ascribed to Satan in the address to the church of Thyatira. So, in more senses than one, Pergamos may have been styled the ‘*Throne of Satan*.’”

If any person will take the trouble to translate the fourth verse for himself, he will find that both words and idiom demand that this woman, the mother, should be understood as instigated by the dragon to devour her own child. If the sense were otherwise, the omitted ‘*ει*’ would be absolutely necessary. It would be needless to point out the superior exactness of the prophecy thus translated. As Eve was instigated by the serpent to sin, so the woman, at the instigation of the infidel spirit, which in Heathen Rome excited the persecution against Daniel’s first set of men of understanding, was now incited to devour the child which she brought forth. Thus was it endeavoured

to make the woman the agent of this foul and most unnatural murther! And it *was* the woman who did endeavour the destruction of the child. The Papal Roman power, with a rage only to be accounted for from the instigation of an infidel spirit, endeavoured, though happily in vain, to crush the Reformation in its birth; but it was caught up to God and the throne. Thus the great Being of the first chapter, the Primitive Church, when he had overcome, sat down with the Father on his throne.

This circumstance, that the woman was at first unannoyed by the firm friend and zealous ally of the beast, while the beast from first to last persecutes the witnesses, would alone entirely separate the idea of the woman from the pure witnesses, and prove in consequence that the woman cannot be a pure power. The same result is attained from the observation, that the witnesses before the end of the 1260 days ascend up into heaven; whereas the woman continued until the end one uninterrupted flight in the wilderness.

The Prophet was surprised by the appearance of the Serpent in heaven. His surprise is expressed by the word ‘Behold,’ which adverbially used intimates some apparent contrariety. Of the persecutor Paul it was said, *Behold, he prayeth!* *Behold* what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon us, that *we* should be called the sons of God! *Behold* (in that human appearance) the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world! Tell ye the daughter of Zion, *Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek and*

sitting upon an ass and a colt the foal of an ass! Such, with scarcely an exception, will be found the purport of the introductory *Behold*. Much more, therefore, in prophecy, where no word can be superfluous; and it is therefore represented as a matter of astonishment that the Dragon should be thus with the woman. The prophet could not have felt surprise at seeing the beast himself with the woman. He had learned from Daniel that the Roman Empire was to be the friend, coadjutor, and protector, of the Papal domination; but he was very naturally surprised to see the spirit of infidelity instigating the Christian!

I should here notice the unavoidable confusion which may be sometimes discerned in the symbolical language, if we examine it with too rigid strictness. The *ερημος* does not come up to the idea suggested by the translation to wilderness; but denotes a country little cultivated and thinly inhabited. John the Baptist was *in the desert* the whole time until the day of his manifestation to Israel; and this desert is twice merely called *the hill country*; and in it is mentioned a city of Judah. Joshua reckons six cities in the wilderness (xv. 61); and Collier, in his *Sacred Interpreter*, remarks that the deserts among the Jews were not places altogether uninhabited, but places more open and common, where were hills and woods, and towns here and there, such as the wilderness of Judæa, and the wilderness of Paran where Nabal dwelt. A modern author says of the wilderness of St. John Baptist: "A wilderness it is called, as being very rocky and mountainous; but it is well culti-

vated, and produces plenty of corn, and vines, and olive trees."

Our Saviour also says, "Who does not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness?" where the wilderness is plainly a proper pasture for sheep. The symbolical wilderness, or desolate place, is therefore only a state of spiritual poverty and infertility; and the woman symbolizing the Western corrupted church has her own prepared abiding place for the 1260 years in this comparatively desolate place. But likewise this woman is in a system of religion, whether pure or impure: she is therefore in heaven; at once in heaven and in the wilderness. This, when put out of the symbolical language, is altogether correct; but it shews a degree of imperfection in the most perfect symbolical language, and that an absolute agreement of all the parts is really as impossible as it seems.

The plain fact that the woman is at once in the heaven, and wilderness, may serve to rectify some ideas respecting the time of the woman's parturition. It may also shew that the translation '*into*' is incorrect; and that it should, as in Mat. ii. 23, Mark i. 9, ii. 1, and very many other places which may be found from Parkhurst, be translated that she fled *in* the desolate place which the Church inhabited in the form of the woman, or as elsewhere included in the form of the two-horned beast. Thus will be obviated the possible objection that the man seems to be born before the flight *into* the wilderness. As the man likewise was to be a permanent pure

community, and as no pure community was established for a permanence until long after the seventh century, which placed the woman in the wilderness at the beginning of her 1260 years, it, from this alone, appears that the translation ‘*into*’ cannot but be incorrect. Having made these remarks, the reader may judge whether it be an over-refinement to observe, that although the woman during the triumphant part of her residence in the desolate place, and during her delivery, might have been in such situations as to have the moon under her feet, yet that after her delivery, when in her flight she herself began to experience the horrors or deprivations of the wilderness, it was impossible that the moon should have thus remained. The Hierarchy of the Western Roman Empire trampled the body of the members under foot, only until the Reformation. If this observation be not accepted, there will appear another of the incongruities alleged to be inseparable from the language of symbols. The woman flees upon the earth with the moon under her feet! In her very flight, however, she is not utterly depressed: her clothing of the Sun remains for a time as before; though the lustre of that Sun was minished, and though many of the starry diamonds had fallen from the crown upon her head.

There is here a peculiarity in the expression which would alone, necessarily, prove the woman to be an idolatrous, and not a pure church: it is said that *they should nourish her*. Who now are these that nourish her? The last-mentioned *nations*,

The nations are indeed the only nouns of the plural number in the passage. But these ~~them~~, or nations, or gentiles, must be *the* nations, who in the last chapter were angry against God: who tread the city under foot for the same space of time; and who rejoice at the death of the witnesses. These very nations, hostile to every branch of the pure faith, nourish the woman; and by their friendship prove that the bride of the Lamb, once chaste, mother of many pure churches who keep the testimony (see verse 17), and more especially mother of the man-like Church of England, was yet by no means pure; that she is deeply implicated in the guilt of the great Adulteress, hereafter more fully described, with whom those kings of the earth have committed fornication, who lived deliciously with her, and *who nourish her*. That great Adulteress is in fact but another symbol for the Sun with which this woman is clothed.

From this verse the very interesting subject of the woman's fate is suspended to the fourteenth; for the dragon is still employed in endeavouring the destruction of him who was caught up to his throne. Therefore is there war in heaven, where is the throne. This arrangement is clearly correct; because, as will hereafter be more fully shewn, the subject of this verse synchronizes, and is in every part identified with the enlarged description in the fourteenth. In either case, under precisely the same circumstances, she is herself made desolate, because she flees from the dragon in the desolate place,

and feels the evils she herself had been accustomed to inflict: she is nourished, moreover, by the same power, precisely until the same time. The man-child having been rescued, and triumphantly established in the symbolical heaven, it should seem that the attack was then instantly made on the dragon, and this is the connection to the following account of the war in heaven. "These two descriptions," says Mede, "are of the same thing, and same time;" but the dragon indeed might, on the symbolical principles, be at once watching for the child, and fighting with the opposing host; for these pieces of symbolical painting are so distinct (*another sign*), as to allow this double situation as expressive of the same event. In any case, however, Michael may be the name of this identical son man-like. The types not impossibly agree; the antitypes certainly. Events are subsequently introduced, which, being posterior in time, are of course not included or mentioned in the part already noticed.

7. "And there was war in the heaven, the
"Michael and his angels for to war with the
"dragon; and the dragon warred, and his
8. "angels, and prevailed not: neither was the
"place found of them any more in the heaven."

The woman we know to be a visible community: with the same assurance we know the man-like child to be such; and that under the appearance of a visible community the dragon persecutes them both. As such, he is hereafter instrumental in preparing the war against him that

sat upon the horse, yet does not openly commit himself and his strength to the fate of battle ; nor, like the active agents or visible communities, the beast and the false prophet, is he slain in the battle. Now as the woman, the child, and the serpent, and of course his angels, symbolize visible communities, Michael and his angels opposing him arm to arm, must also symbolize visible communities. By the minutiae, in the succeeding description, this plain fact will be confirmed.

The great dragon, cast out of heaven at the end of the conflict, immediately persecuted the woman. (See verse 13). His defeat, therefore, immediately preceded his persecution of the woman. If we may presume from the woman's flight, that he began to persecute directly after the triumphant establishment of her son, it will appear that the triumph of the son over the efforts of the dragon must be very nearly synchronical with the victory of Michael and his angels over the dragon and his angels. "The time of both is *the same*," says Mede, "and so the same event consequent to both." The first of these is, as has just been fully shewn, the triumphant establishment of some national pure Church in despite of the disguised spirit of Anti-christian infidelity. The last is the victory of some established visible community over the same disguised spirit. These events, therefore, when reduced from the rich variety of symbolical attire, may be the very same. The man-like son, by the ejection of the enemy from the whole system of religion, confirms his throne. The seed of the woman bruises the serpent's head ; and as we before proved th~~e~~

triumph of the man-child to have taken place in the establishment of what is now called the Church of England, we are necessarily led to conclude that the triumph of Michael and his angels, so nearly, if not exactly, contemporary, is also expressive of the establishment of the triumph of the same Church of England. The type is diversified, that new incidents might conveniently be inserted. Under Edward VI. England might be said to have began the fight for truth; under Mary, Rome for falsehood; and under Elizabeth, falsehood prevailed not, neither was its place found any more in the church. This indeed may be little more than an elucidation, since the whole war, as well as the final triumph, might, with more propriety perhaps, be said to have been at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. But this subject may be investigated in the remaining part of the history, and the very peculiar addition.

From the mere name of the Michael, translated *the similitude of God*, or *who is as God*, I am not sure that any thing very definite can be drawn. Great Men, as Mede observes, are commonly termed *Gods* in Scripture. A little consideration may, nevertheless, be bestowed upon some subjects connected with the name.

The Archangel Michael must be the representative of some kingdom or church, very superior in power or purity. He was considered by the Jews as the tutelary angel, or protector of their church and nation; and hence, moreover, unless this idea of the tutelary angel was derived from

Daniel, may be almost supposed, in the present juncture, to be simply symbolical of that power, which stands as the beautiful representative of ancient Israel. Without too much nationality it may be affirmed and granted, that England has well merited her original title of the Eye, and the Bulwark of the Reformation. From her first successful resistance against the powers of darkness, and subsequently from her determined rejection of the evil principles of unbelief, from her past and present character (and since we have considered the man-child's destiny, may we not add *future*) character and situation, we may well affirm that England is worthy of such a representation. The name *Michael* occurs in the scriptures only three times beside the present occasion. It is once very obscurely used by St. Jude, seemingly not in a prophetical sense; and twice in a sense decidedly prophetical by Daniel. As to the import of the first of these prophetical passages, (Dan. x. 21), I have not been able to satisfy myself; but the latter, (xii. 1), I conceive to be strongly in favour of the application of this prophecy to England. Although it be unwarrantable to advance any thing without regular proof, yet I cannot but call attention to that Michael, who standeth up for the children of Daniel's people, or the Jews, at the time of the end. *This great prince* is certified by concurrent prophecies to be that great, pure, maritime power of the nineteenth century, who undertaking the great work of the restoration of the Jews, is the battle-axe of the Lord to smite the nations, and is finally

victorious over the strength of the beast united with the false prophet. In all *human* probability, this pure maritime power of this century is England. ‘I have raised up one from the North and he shall come.’ (Is. xli. 25.) It almost seems as if St. John had twice amplified on the same events in the Apocalypse, simply that in the double occurrence of the name of Michael, each might explain the other. It will not be unobserved that St. John particularizes this angel as *the Michael*, as *the Michael* of Daniel, he who was to stand up for the children of their people. Mede also, though at one time, interpreting the angels generally as martyrs and confessors, and at another literally as their guardian angels, yet suggests at a third that the Archangels of Daniel and St. John must be the same Personage. After all, however, he leans to an odd idea respecting the Holy Ghost, which needs no refutation. In fine, the Michael of St. John, who had the honour of gaining a battle over the dragon at the Reformation under the sixth trumpet, is to remain in preparation for the seventh. Then is he made by Daniel the princely instrument of the restoration of the scattered children of his people, and of the utter discomfiture of the remaining enemies of God.

But still if Michael be England, who are the angels? If the Archangel be a representative of a leading power, the other angels should be typical of other pure churches. I once indeed imagined, and more than for a moment, that the angels leagued in the same cause were some, or all, of the seven pure churches without the limits

of the old Roman power, those seven thunders and seven thousand names of men which in a history of the pure church could not possibly have been overlooked. The angels allied to Satan would in this case be the opponents of the truth, howsoever working in these seven nations. If we forget that the seven thunders are not to be written, this theory may be almost plausible; yet they seem to fight under the banners of Michael and Satan, in the cause of their lord rather than in their own separate interest, all together and not individual against individual. This subject will meet consideration, however, more at large. The minor angels are possibly no more than ministers, as the Devil, the roaring lion who walketh about seeking whom he may devour, stands in Scriptural expression for all the fallen angels under their great head. As is the literal, so may be the symbolical idea.

9. "And there was cast down the dragon:
"the serpent the ancient, called the Devil,
"and the Satan, which deceiveth the whole
"world, was cast down into the earth, and his
"angels were with him cast down."

At the accession of Elizabeth, the Spirit of Infidelity was, by the instrumentality of England, cast out of the established system of religion. That old serpent called the Accuser, and the Enemy, that leads out of the way the whole world, he was cast out of the system of religion; and his ministers were cast out with him.

"In the career of improvement," says Robertson, "one nation and people may outstrip another, yet none are stationary. The very Pontiffs of Rome began to govern by new maxims and a milder spirit. They saw a rival church established in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to observe any errors in their administration; and eager to expose them. They were sensible that the opinions adverse to their usurpations were not confined to their enemies alone, but had spread even among the people who still adhered to them. The Popes in their administration have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. In fine, they have sunk almost to a level with the other petty princes of Italy: they continue to claim, though they dare not exercise, the same spiritual jurisdiction; but hardly retain any shadow of the temporal power, which they anciently possessed."

In the xith chapter the Western Church was shewn at considerable length to have become so pure that she could not at all be made an instrument of the dragon, but was odious to him. In the last quotation it appears, that had she (considered as clothed with the Sun of Rome) even continued a fit instrument in a moral point of view, she yet *immediately* became weak and petty, and her alliance of little or no importance. On every principle she has long ceased to be the instrument of his designs: once a curse to the world,

her religion for the last two centuries has plainly been far better than none ; and we must be bigoted indeed to doubt that she has reared up many souls for heaven, though under an erroneous system of education. It is well known that the Pope and Romish Universities, in the most solemn declarations and in the strongest terms, have avowed that the Romish church never in any degree professed those *most pernicious and damnable doctrines imputed to her!* In these declarations we at least see a most conspicuous proof of Reformation. They venture, in spite of infallibility, to complain of the usurped authority of certain councils, and the ambition of certain Popes. However infidelity may have spread, the Western Church has certainly impeded of late, rather than favoured, its progress. By the Reformation, therefore, Satan and his angels were altogether cast out of the established systems of religion. When earth, as at present, is directly opposed to heaven, it symbolizes a state of open apostasy. The dragon cast out of the heaven, or system of religion, was now reduced to an alternative : he must either have ceased to deceive, or have remained on the symbolical earth in undisguised hostility. He chose the latter ; and waged war, not only against the children, but against the mother likewise.

10. “ And I heard a voice loud in the heaven,
“ saying, Now is come the salvation, and the
“ strength, and the kingdom of our God, and
“ the power of his Christ ; because there is

" cast down the accuser of our brethren who
" accused them before our God by day and
11. " night. And they overcame him by the
" blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their
" testimony: and they did not love their life
12. " until death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens,
" and they that dwell therein! Woe to the
" earth, and to the sea; for there is come
" down the devil unto you, having a wrath
" great, knowing that a short season he hath!"

When in xi. 15, the seventh angel sounded, there were *great voices* saying, The *kingdom* of the world *is* the *kingdom* of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for the ages of ages. Here is the universal diffusion of the faith, the general purification of all churches; but the prophecy is now more limited to one particular people: there is *a great voice* saying the same thing, but in a less degree. There is now but *one great voice*; and indeed if we give credit to the common version of xi. 15, which specifies *kingdoms*, we may remark that there is now but *one kingdom* of our Lord and of his Christ. This I conceive to be the establishment of the Reformation in the one nation; and prior, as it should be, and as it will appear, to the *woe* of the seventh trumpet. As therefore the prophecy *must* be already fulfilled, and as England is the only country of the Roman Empire which has the pure church nationally established, and as the time of such establishment is exact, England *must* contain that church and nation. Our conclusion will be found to

have insuperable force from the addition of the two great means by which the victory was gained, and the peculiar attendant circumstances. These will require a brief and separate consideration.

The angel or messenger is a name not of nature but of office, and is not confined, like our English word, to the idea of a heavenly agent. In Mat. xxiv. 31, and Mark xiii. 27, it is spoken of the preachers of the gospel. In Luke vii. 24, and ix. 52, they are mere human messengers. The angels, who cannot most certainly be on any principle literally interpreted, are here introduced as agents of Michael on the one side, and of Satan on the other; and it has been shewn that they may symbolize the bodies of the clergy, pure and impure. The Church of England, then, and its agents thus prevailed:—

“They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb,”

This Lamb is always symbolical of the Church suffering. His company in great tribulation wash their robes, and make them white in the blood of the bleeding Lamb, who always is, *as being slain*. This mystic company are seen, having stood on the Mount Sion in xiv. 1, immediately before the establishment of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and English churches, representative of all the individual purity, which had been suffering, nearly for a thousand years within the Roman Empire. These, however, were the seed of the Reformation: England overcame by the blood of the Lamb, so

long slain. Those who delight in literal interpretation may take the following. Whenever a pure church is in depression, it becomes the Lamb: England's pure church, established under Edward, became the Lamb when Mary triumphed; and the blood then forcibly shed will soon appear to have been one of the causes of their final success.

“ And by the Word of their testimony.”

Here is another instrument of their conquest, the Word of their witness. The *testimony* is the very word of xi. 7, which the witnesses were about to make perfect; and this may point out connection with the witnesses. They even conquered by them: the pure faith which after bloody struggles obtained a toleration in Germany, ascended up, as it were in consequence, to the heaven and throne of English establishment. Those witnesses who were to slay the beast that willed to hurt them, slay him in chap. xix. under the name of the Word of God; and here the Word of the Witness has given the means of conquest to Protestant England. Thus are the several prophecies bound and united, by the intimation that the stupendous events of the building of the temple, the triumph of the witnesses, the birth of the man, and the victory of Michael, are all, as it were, identified. All agree in the final triumph, the establishment of the pure church in this island, which is soon to go forth as the Word of God, the great Witness, with the raiment dipped in (the Lamb's) blood.

"And they did not love their life until
"death."

We have read so long the words of the common translation, *and they loved not their lives unto the death*, that many perhaps have fancied they understood them. It might nevertheless be difficult to mention a single meaning which with any semblance of propriety can be annexed to them. If we determine according to our bounden duty to abide by the literal translation, yet will they not at first be much clearer. The words '*they loved not the life until death*' have no very obvious meaning, unless we leave the literal half-sense, which glimmers only to mislead; and search, where only we should search, in the import of the language symbolical. It will then at last appear that when St. John asserts that Michael and his ministers should not love their lives until the loss of them, he intended to express and has accurately expressed, what in the interpretation has been very remarkably fulfilled; that the symbolical life of Michael and his angels, or *the character*, as pure worshippers, of the members of the English Church, should be hated by themselves until, in the loss of that character, they should suffer a symbolical death. This is perhaps the very incident for which the whole varied symbol is introduced.

When upon the great earthquake, which threw down a part of the city, it was proved that England's corruptions were not extinct in the prophet's eye until the final establishment of the pure

faith in the reign of Elizabeth, we entered largely upon ground to which we must now return. Whether it be or be not in the prophecy, which may rather exclusively regard Elizabeth, when under Edward began the fight for truth, Michael did attack and fight: when under his successor Mary, falsehood fought, then fought the dragon and his angels. Under Edward, the pure faith being ostensibly established, the English Church received the life symbolical. When Mary re-established the impure faith, by the authority of the Parliament, the English Church pure received the symbolical death. The point then is, that they did not love their symbolical lives, or the pure faith, until their symbolical death, or the re-establishment of corruption in all its dismal deformity. Let the historian comment upon the text; and he will shew this unique in the history of religion, and a great and high-spirited people passively receiving, at the will of a few individuals, a faith which the very great majority did not love.

Henry's innovations were not reformations. Under his successor the errors of Rome began in reality to be reformed. Images were taken out of churches; priests allowed to marry; the old mass abolished, and a new liturgy drawn up. The consequence of these steps was *open rebellion in twelve counties at once*. These were suppressed by promises of redress; but as these promises were not observed, nor idolatry restored into full power, the people rose again in many places, and particularly in Norfolk and in the shires of Oxford, Devon, and York. In Devonshire the in-

surrection was dangerous : they were soon ten thousand strong ; and formally sent to the King's General their demands in fifteen articles, which shewed religion, entirely unconnected with other grievances, to be the motive of their rebellion. The twelve first articles insisted, generally and severally, in the strongest terms, upon the re-establishment of the Romish worship and Romish priests ; but the tenth article in this *popular* insurrection was “that the people should be forbidden to read the Bible !” No comments need be made on that state of national opinion, which led to this most extraordinary demand on the part of the people. So palpable is it that England loved not the symbolical life which it had received.

When Mary ascended the throne, she instantly began to re-establish the cherished corruptions. “It must be observed,” says Rapin, “that to consider England in general upon Mary’s ascension, she was wholly Protestant ; but there were many who were so only in name. Some still halted between the two religions ; others were Papists in their hearts ; and very many had embraced the Reformation to make their fortunes. The smallest number of all was of those who, truly convinced of the tenets of the new religion, were ready to sacrifice their all for its sake.” The nobility, whose only religion seemed that of the reigning Prince, were easily gained : the Commons seemed not merely passive in all Mary’s proceedings, but enthusiastical in the cause : the people testified their entire satisfaction and

applause by remaining quiet instead of rebellious ; and the Church, without a shadow of opposition or difficulty, was at once put on the same foundation as in the darkest ages ! The prophecy says they did not love their symbolical lives ; and history speaks to us even of a hate. Of a population of some millions, not three hundred had the spirit to stand up boldly, and profess a pure Christianity. Of a Protestant ministry of some thousands, five bishops and twenty-one ministers were the only sacrifices to the most keen-eyed and unrelenting vengeance. The rest, except a few who deserted their country and religion at the greatest need, joyfully returned to their wallowing in the mire ! Such was the national character, a character, however, which James II. perceived to his cost had undergone no small alteration in the next century. When he endeavoured once more to rob England of the symbolical life, he at once met disappointment, disgrace, and dethronement. (See chap. xi.)

Before the end, however, of Mary's short reign, the national character was changed. The people of England, according to the prophecy, began to love the symbolical life which they had lost. In many counties, and in Norfolk particularly, which under Edward had so strongly resisted the Reformation, the magistrates having shewn indulgence to the Protestants, strong remonstrances were sent from the court, commanding proceedings more conformable to the intentions of the legislature. The violences, however, already

committed, occasioned such murmurs that Bonner himself, whether through fear or some other motive, moderated his fury so far as to send away, without trial, persons brought before him for heresy. “The Lords” (I am collecting from Rapin, Vol. ii. Book xvi.) “proposed a bill of confiscation against the estates of those whom the fear of persecution had driven out of the kingdom: the Commons rejected the bill. Most were weary of cruelties; and very few of the members paid any longer the same deference to the court as formerly. The violences hitherto acted upon both the dead and the living, had a quite contrary effect to what the Queen had imagined. Only the Ecclesiastics continued their rage: the magistrates began to relax, and scrupled to be the instruments of these barbarities. The Council, on the information, wrote circular letters to all the towns, to inflame their zeal in the persecution of Heretics. But these letters produced no great effects.

“The Queen, enraged to hear from all parts that the number of the Protestants increased rather than lessened, resolved to erect an Inquisition in England, like that in Spain. To this end a Commission was granted the last year, empowering twenty-one Commissioners to sit upon Trials of Heresy, with a power so unlimited, that no other rules were prescribed than their discretion, nor any person whatever exempted from their jurisdiction. This was followed by a persecution, in which seventy-nine Protestants perished.

"The persecutions in Mary's reign seem to have been permitted only to bring the kingdom over to the protestant religion. Nothing could preach so effectually against the cruelty and the vices of the monks, as the actions of the monks themselves: wherever heretics were to be burnt, they were always present; rejoicing at the spectacle, insulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the condemned. The English were effectually converted by such sights as these. To bring a people over to any opinion, it is only necessary to persecute instead of attempting to convince. The people had formerly embraced the reformed religion from fear: they were now internally protestants from inclination.

"Mary died; and Elizabeth ascended the throne. The people were now almost wholly of the Protestant religion: the use the papists had made of their power had undone their cause: a religion marked with cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, was not a religion for the people of England. Elizabeth began in imitation of the deceased queen, to forbid all meddling with controversy in the pulpit, and all innovations of the established rights; except that the service should be performed in the vulgar tongue, till the parliament should determine the proper modes of worship. The parliament soon met: the reformation was finished; and religion established in the manner we enjoy it at present."

"Strange," says a foreign writer, "that a people who are so resolute, should be guilty of so

much inconstancy ; that the same people, who this day publicly burnt heretics, should the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their opinions."

Strange indeed it was ; and it answered, against all human probability, the striking and enigmatical prediction of the Prophet.

Thus, too, was this a fit subject for rejoicing. The prophet's eye saw in the future, as we see in the past, the happy consequences of their symbolical death. We have ground to rejoice that the bigotry of a woman and the infatuation of a people, made a few martyred individuals a glorious example, and a source of all that we cherish. Had Mary brought in the corrupt religion with the moderation to which she was counselled by the legate of Rome, England would probably to this day have either been overwhelmed with spiritual darkness, or an apostate to the lie of infidelity. Such a subject is it of rejoicing, that they loved not their lives until death.

There are yet some important deductions to be drawn from the character of them that overcame. These, however, if awhile deferred, may be advanced with additional weight of evidence.

"Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and they
"that dwell therein. Woe to the earth and to
"the sea ! for there is come down the devil
"unto you."

All the established churches in the world, pure or impure, are called upon to rejoice ; because

they are no more to be made the instruments of infidelity ; because Michael has conquered ! This is in a measure parallel with the conclusion of the same events in chap. xi, when more glory is universally given, even among the enemies, to the symbolical God of heaven : the whole Christian world is amended.

At this point of chronology, immediately after the Reformation, we have, moreover, the introduction of that third woe with which the seventh trumpet commences. The sounding of the seventh trumpet is not formally announced : that would have been worse than superfluous, as will hereafter appear. This commencement is, however, signified as clearly by the great *Woe*, as if a whole section had been formally employed upon it.

The woe is not only to the earth in general, in which it is clearly identified with all the component seven vials of the seventh trumpet, which are poured out upon the earth ; but it is also particularly a woe to the sea, a very great power of the Roman Empire. If we look forward into the description of the events of the last woe-trumpet, as detailed in the xvith chapter, we shall find this part of the woe more prominently displayed, when *the sea* becomes as the blood of a dead man, and every living soul dieth in the sea. This woe, therefore, which was peculiarly to affect the symbolical sea, must be the same ; and under its proper head will be shewn the second vial fulfilled in the blasphemous and bloody annals of the French revolution. We are not,

however, to limit our idea of the *Woe to the sea* to the mere first years of ‘that destruction of human happiness,’ the revolution of France. The woe seems to be denounced upon the sea in particular, as equal to the earth in general; and we must therefore expect that, to the power symbolized by the sea, or to France, under its new dynasties, will be assigned so lamentably conspicuous a place during the *whole* course of the trumpet of the last woe, as that the sin and misery abounding within that comparatively small region, should almost equal the aggregate of evil contained in the remainder of modern Europe.

“ For there is come down the devil unto you.”

As his fall from heaven has been shewn to be the last event of the second woe; and as his stand upon earth (for we find in the introductory song of triumph that he has actually taken his stand, and is come down) is the commencement of the third, it appears again that the third woe so immediately follows the second, that no more prophetic time intervenes than would necessarily be consumed in a fall from heaven to earth. Were there no other data, this momentary interval alone would surely be sufficient to mark the division of the two woes, the first of which was to be followed by the other, quickly or immediately.

“ Having a wrath great, knowing that a short
“ season he hath.”

It is here intimated that the intensity of his prior efforts should seem slight, compared with his exertions, and consequently implied success in this last period in which his efforts are to be tolerated. For well nigh six thousand years, the Spirit of Infidelity, in the various forms of Paganism, Mohammedanism, Deism, and Atheism, has been deceiving the world. At the end however of this woe, which began with the Reformation, he is to be bound perhaps a thousand prophetical, or 360,000 natural years ; and afterwards before his final and utter destruction is to be loosed for a little time. As then at the Reformation, no more than three hundred natural years remained for his appointed time of deceiving, these very few days of his existence compose the short time. Therefore he has great wrath, knowing that *he hath* a season, yet aware that this season is short ; and the last struggles of the monster are convulsive and desperate. The adversaries foreseeing the final glorious effects of the Reformation, are in haste to work, while the day remaineth. The Dragon is now exhibited in his naked horrors ; and boasts himself as the Spirit of undisguised atheistical rebellion, that Spirit of Antichrist which should come into the world.

13. “ And when saw the Dragon that he was
“ cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman
“ who brought forth the man-(*child.*)”

Here is confirmed the idea that *until* he was cast unto the earth, he did not persecute the

woman who brought forth *the man* or *the male*. In our version, the sense is again warped by the extraneous italic *child*.

His *pursuit* of the woman (for such literal translation more exactly accords with the woman's flight) clearly did not begin until her manlike son was born, rescued, and enthroned. This alone shews the woman corrupt, and this *first* led me to distrust the common attempts at interpretation. My admiration was excited that the Dragon did not devour the woman utterly helpless when he stood before her, *possibly* to devour her offspring, but apparently, as is not uncommon in the *animal* world, that she should be induced to devour it as soon as born. On the supposition of her purity, he must *necessarily* have been as hostile to herself, as to her progeny. The obvious advantage of this wily enemy was to have attempted at least to devour the mother with the child in the womb. The woman in the symbol had evidently no power to help herself; inasmuch as when, delivered from her burthen and recovered, she flees in the wilderness, she is even then only saved by the two given wings of the eagle, the great.

That the Spirit of unbelief, which sought the devouring of her offspring, was rather the evil counsellor than the agent, is as obvious in prophecy, as the antitype in history. Long time, as has been shewn, was infidelity not without, but within. The corrupt church, instigated by a diabolical spirit, succeeded until the sixteenth century in smothering every infant pure church,

as soon as born. After this time, after the escape of the man-like church of England, the open aim of the unbelieving spirit, cast out of the religious system, was “at one fell swoop” to tear away all religion from the face of the earth, the woman, as well as the remnant of her seed, the great Western corrupt Church clothed with the Sun of Rome, as well as the pure churches which owed to her their being. The gates of hell are never, however, to prevail within the ancient jurisdiction of Peter.

The nummeries of Popery were now “charged upon the Gospel; and because *they* were evidently ridiculous superstitions, *it* was thought a ridiculous superstition likewise. Hence arose scepticism; which the subtle enemy of mankind soon matured into infidelity, and even into atheism.” (Fab. Vol. 2). France, Germany, and Italy, were soon tainted to the core: England itself was attempted; but the infection was ever confined to that narrow circle, whose zealously villainous projects, unremittingly formed, agitated, and always baffled, have demonstrated the English people to have a strength and spirit above their corrupted and enfeebled neighbours of the European Continent. Once we scarcely knew the stability of our own national character: it has now stood the test. Herbert, and Toland, and Blount, and Shaftesbury, were at first dreaded; but the English character rose victorious from the contest. The indefatigable malignity of Paine excited some apprehension, and it was actively counteracted; but, now we know ourselves; the

puny efforts of his disciplined Ensor are only neglected and despised. “The virgin, the daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn : the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.”

The feeble votaries of superstition fell, however, before the kindred demons of the Continent. “By the incessant labours of Voltaire, his diabolical principles were protected by the sovereigns of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, and by an innumerable host of Landgraves, Margraves, Dukes, and Princes. They had penetrated into Bohemia, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, and Italy. They had thoroughly impregnated France ; and, in short, had more or less pervaded the whole Roman earth. The infernal ingenuity of Weishaupt contrived a method of subverting not only religion and royalty, but all governments whatsoever ; and jacobinism, that consummation of united German and French villainy, proposed to set mankind free from every restraint both of human and divine law ; and to let them loose like wild beasts upon each other, an infuriated herd of anarchists and atheists. In this manner it was that the dragon, quitting heaven for earth, and ‘having great wrath because he knoweth that he hath but a short time,’ prepared his mock philosophers, German and French, illuminated and masonic, with all their trumpery, of popish priests, and protestant ecclesiastics, united only by the common bonds of apostate profligacy, of Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, of the catharmata of the prisons of Lyons and Paris, wretches who, escap-

ing the just sentence of the law, commenced the reformers of the world, in short, of all the filth and offscouring of all the kennels of all the streets of the great mystical city Babylon. Every thing sacred and venerable, every thing salutary and dignified, every thing wise, every thing lovely, every thing that adorns this life, and every thing "that fits us for a better, were to fall before them."

14. "And there were given to the woman two
"wings of the eagle the great, in order that she
"might fly in the wilderness, in her place."

This is of course symbolical; and we are not to content ourselves with a loose idea of swiftness of escape, when we read of the two wings of *the Eagle the great*.

The absolute necessity for the alteration from *into* to *in* has been already remarked. It is here also requisite: she flies *in the wilderness, in her place*.

The first prophecy in which we find the eagle, is the famous prophecy of Deut. xxviii. "The Lord shall bring a nation upon thee from far, from the end of the earth, *as the Eagle slieth*, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand, a nation of fierce countenance. This nation, fierce, and from far, and of a language entirely different, cannot be any other conqueror of Judæa than the Roman; and this is abundantly confirmed by the exact parallel in Jer. v. 15. If then the eagle be here symbolical, or if indeed metaphorical, the Roman power is equally denoted. When our

Saviour prophesies the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, he introduces the characteristic symbol, "Wherever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." In this symbolical prediction the carcase or dead body is the state of Judæa, become the dead body politic by refusing the fulfilment of their pre-christian church; to this dead body are to be gathered the symbolical eagles. As the Romans, moreover, intentionally represented their own swiftness and strength by their standard, which is well known to have been the eagle of their Jupiter, the prophetic symbol appears peculiarly proper to the Romans. It was shewn that the Patriarchate of the seat of the Roman Empire was, though not exactly the eagle, yet like an eagle; and when the Roman Empire returned to the West, when the proper Roman beast, as will be shewn in the thirteenth chapter, was confined to the West, then returned the proper Roman symbol to the undisputed and exclusive possession of the Western Empire. "*Aquila magna*," says Mede, "*Imperium est Romanum*." So far we agree; but we part, for the given reasons, on the supposition that the Wings are the Eastern and Western Empires. We have now therefore to inquire what two kingdoms of the Western Roman Empire were worthy, from their magnitude and situation at the time of the Reformation, to be called the two wings of the Eagle the great. It will be remembered that in the fourth chapter the wings were shewn to be susceptible of the interpretation of provinces; and the wings of Daniel's leopard,

cannot possibly be understood in any other manner.

The proof, however, might have been more simple. A great bird of prey, when symbolical, must like a beast of prey denote an empire. The wings also, parallel to the four wings of the four-headed Grecian leopard, and to the six wings of each of the living ones, must denote kingdoms or provinces of the Aquiline Empire. As, however, the woman is the European or Western Church, or the Church of the Western Roman Empire, the eagle is that Empire, and the two wings thereof two Powers of this Empire, the Great.

As these two wings of the eagle are for the woman's preservation to the end of the 1260 days, they must be States within the ancient Roman Empire, *whose corrupt faith is permanent*. England and other Powers have excluded themselves by their purity, and France by her national act of infidelity. Italy might rather seem the body of the eagle than a wing; and moreover is too much subdivided into petty states to be applicable to the prophecy. The mere principality of Portugal, a portion of ancient Hispania, and some time of modern Spain, cannot be a wing of *the Eagle the great*. Germany, which has been too deeply imbued with Protestantism to be a grand supporter of the Papal woman, has now also ceased to be a national confederacy. Its late ruler having formally abdicated his dignity, has taken the title of Emperor of Austria, in right of his paternal inheritance, and wears the hereditary Hungarian crown which for three centuries has remained in the

Austrian family. In our idea of Austria we may therefore include Hungary; and the course of events has thus proved that the *Southern Peninsula* and *Austria* are the only Powers of the Roman Empire, the only two wings of the Eagle, the Great, which could have been given her for her preservation. The question then simply remains, whether Austria and the Southern Peninsula have hitherto answered to the prophetic character of the only remaining bulwarks of the Western corrupt church, against the avowed efforts to sweep it from the face of the earth.

Although the tense give no specification of the exact time at which were received the wings, there seems an intimation that they were given at this time of Satan's descent to the earth, and to the sea. As the Devil *quickly* descended upon the sea, which we have seen to be revolutionary infidel France, excluding France even then from being one of the *great* supporters of the idolatrous woman, it should seem that the wings were then eminently supposed to be given her, when the Peninsula of Spain (inclusive, perhaps, of Portugal) and the Power of Austria became the only conspicuous adherents to her communion. Austria, indeed, the bar from the beginning against the purer interest in the German confederacy, Austria, where the protestants have been completely crushed, possessing for more than a century no civil power or political life whatever, and Spain, by her Inquisition, have very long been the great supporters and upholders of the corrupted faith.

“ Where she is nourished there for a time,
 “ times, and half a time, from the face of the
 “ Serpent.”

The word here translated ‘nourished’ is *precisely the same* as that which in the synchronical sixth verse is ‘fed.’ In Dodd’s bible is found a note intending to prove the woman in a different stage of existence, and resting the argument upon the different declarations of *food* and *nourishment*. It was unfortunate for this careful commentator that our translators should have committed such a bewildering inaccuracy; but this is a sad but correct specimen of most commentators! The carelessness in this case is, however, of little consequence, because easily adjusted; and any re-proof of the accuser is quite superseded by the pressing necessity for a new translation of the *επο προσωπε τε οφενς.*

It is hardly clear indeed what was meant by the nourishment for a time *from the face of the serpent*. Did it mean apart from the serpent? No; for the Dragon is in the wilderness with the woman. The Dragon is on the earth and on the sea; he is likewise in the wilderness, and of course with the woman in the wilderness; which woman is therefore in the Dragon’s presence, not apart from him.

It seems then that we must embrace the other meaning which is obscurely contained in the preposition given by our inexplicit version: she was in some manner nourished from or *by* the face of the serpent. If our translators actually intended

to express this correct meaning, they have expressed it, however, with sufficient obscurity; and it must be proved that this is the only meaning which the *προσωπόν* can fairly bear. The προσωπόν will then remain for discussion.

For the *προσωπόν* let us examine the synchronical and identified passage of the sixth verse, to discover whether and in what sense this same word occurs. If it be there found in an undisputed sense, we may fairly conclude that it must bear the same in the passage under consideration. Now in the sixth verse we do find the clear sense of *an efficient cause* in this same preposition, a *place prepared of the God*, or *by the God*, the God perhaps of the wilderness. In this parallel passage it must accordingly bear the same sense: the woman must be nourished *by* the face of the serpent. As, however, this is manifestly absurd, some other meaning must be sought for the substantive. A short examination of the text and comparison with events will then shew the prophecy in exact fulfilment; and that the symbolical woman was nourished—*by him that wore the appearance, and acted in the power and authority of the serpent; by the God of the earth, or the wilderness,*

THE BEAST.

I refer to Parkhurst for the

“ *προσωπόν*, iv. Person, personal appearance, Mat. xxii. 16, Mark xii. 14. *προσωπόν* in the person, i. e. in the name, or *as the representative, or by the authority*, 2 Cor. ii. 10. Compare 1 Cor. v. 4. So Eusebius mentions the Epistle of Clement, which he wrote *in προσωπού, &c. &c. in the name of the*

Church of the Romans, to that of the Corinthians."

As the preposition *must* therefore be translated in the same sense as in the parallel passage, as the substantive is clearly shewn capable of the given sense, and as this is the only sense which gives any meaning at all, it appears that the woman, incessantly pursued by the serpent, was at the same time to be fed by the power which wore the appearance, and acted in the representative power and authority of the serpent. The Beast, which appeared in the last chapter the seven-headed and ten-horned, as he will be shewn, has the appearance of the seven-headed ten-horned serpent. To that Beast the serpent had given *his* power, and *his* seat, and *his* great authority. The woman, pursued by the serpent, escapes by the eagle's wings; and is to be fed or nourished by the power of the Beast until the expiration of the 1260 days. The Beast who has power over all nations, represents the nations, is represented by his head, the Imperial Power. The woman, of whom it was before predicted that the nations should feed her (*they* should feed her), and who had the prepared place (perhaps from the Beast himself, the God of the wilderness), is now under another symbol nourished by the very same nations, the very same serpent-like beast. The corrupt Western Church, persecuted at this time by the spirit of unbelief, is to continue nourished by the Imperial power; yet this by no means necessarily involves the continuance of the *particular* power of the Romish Church. Both predictions

are thus found in exact agreement: she flies to the same place, and by the same authorities is nourished for the same time. The change of the expression of the time from the 1260 days to the computation by years or times seems principally intended to remind us, that this time of the woman is the very time of Daniel's little horn, and to demonstrate that a time is a year, and times two years, or a '*biennium*'.

15. "And cast out the serpent from his mouth
"after the woman water as a river, in order
"that he might cause her to be flooded away
"by the river."

The *ποταμός* is not properly a flood; but a river, perhaps a flooded river, in Mat. vii. 25, 27, Luke vi. 48, 49 (where the idea is from the vicinity of the Nile), and again, in Homer it is sometimes the sea. In the symbol, 'Waters, says the angel, are *peoples*.' A river is a nation proceeding under settled government: a flooded river is a nation in a state of turbulence. This people therefore have not a settled government, yet something not unlike it; and this people, thus situated, with a revolutionary unsettled government, are violently impelled, by the spirit of unbelief, to the destruction of the Western Church, clothed, as we have long seen it, with the Sun of Rome. Hales terms it an inundation of nations to destroy Christianity.

We should remember, however, the precise purport of an instrument of destruction proceeding

from the *mouth*. From the comparison of other passages we have reason to conceive that it here symbolizes offensive force, exerted in support of the characteristic doctrines of the agent. If any man will hurt the witnesses, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies. We proved these witnesses identified with the Faithful and True of chap. xix, out of whose mouth went a sharp avenging sword, which is said to smite the nation. This also was exerted in support of the characteristic doctrines of the agent. The same may be discerned in the fire which proceeded out of the mouth of the Turkish horsemen: the same of the serpent-like Spirit of Infidelity, who *for his characteristic lie* violently impelled a whole revolutionary nation to flood away the Western Church from the face of the earth. It will be observed, however, that this, his last violent effort against the woman, does not apparently take place until he had persecuted or pursued her for some considerable time; and all these particulars concur in pointing out revolutionary, infidel, democratical France, as the nation like a flooded river, the offensive instrument of the serpent's wrath, as a nation perhaps (with Homer) like the sea of the second vial, which became as the blood of a dead body. Revolutionary France, neither without, nor with a government, having legally, as far as there existed any legal authority, proclaimed the Son of God an impostor, and his Gospel a forgery, having by the solemn covenant of twenty-six millions of men sworn to live without either God or king in the

world, and to exterminate religion and royalty from the face of the earth, unsheathed the sword against every established government, and to crown their madness, took counsel together against the very Majesty of heaven.

16. “And the Earth helped the woman, and
“opened the Earth her mouth, and drank up
“the river which the dragon cast from his
“mouth.”

The Papal Roman Empire helped, or, as the original with greater force, *eagerly assisted* their church. “Congregated Europe met the infidels in arms, and notwithstanding the various successes of the atheistical republic, when the general pacification took place in the year 1801,” the earth had swallowed up the flood which the dragon had cast out of his mouth. The woman remained in the same state as before, and this vehement effort of the dragon was at least entirely foiled. It seems, however, as if something still further was intended: the instrument which the Dragon uses is swallowed up in the earth. By this it should appear that the nation of France, which, by the apostasy to the more blasphemous abominations of Antichrist, had ceased to be a part of the Papal Roman Empire, should again return to this Western Communion, and again become a part of the Papal earth. This also has accurately been fulfilled, if this be not *more* than the true interpretation of this part of the prophecy, after the first violent unsuccessful efforts of the

Infidel Power against the Church. Their anti-christian enthusiasm abated : “ a trial had been made,” says Dr. Faber, “ of modern philosophy, and it had been most tremendously proved to be little adapted to promote the happiness of man. Its chief advocates sunk into contempt and oblivion. They seemed, as it were, to have vanished from off the face of the globe. The gross absurdity of their system was detected. Common sense began to resume its empire. The avowal of a resolution to exterminate Christianity was heard no more. Infected as many individuals might be with the principles of infidelity, atheism itself was displaced ; and Christianity, the apostate Christianity, indeed of the Church of Rome, was re-established.” An idea should seem to have glanced across the mind of the writer of these lines, that the woman might well symbolize the *Apostate* Christianity, invested with the raiment of the Church of Rome. Hales, though an advocate of a system essentially different from the present, yet confirms this style of interpretation respecting the absorption of the flood. “ These fierce conquerors were themselves blended and amalgamated with the conquered country. They soon embraced the religion, laws, customs, and language of Rome,” which they had so lately attacked.

I do not, however, feel an entire conviction that this symbol is not strained beyond its legitimate purport. If fire from *the mouth* destroy the beast, and fire is the legitimate symbol of war, it is still the war of opinion and doctrine without

one idea of force necessarily united. This flood from the mouth may therefore (still as applicable in all its bearings to France) be no more than a national flood of atheistical error ineffectual to its purpose. I seem to have a confused idea respecting the natural history of the serpent. Is there no species, which feed upon winged animals, and are accustomed to emit floods of water to bring them to the ground?

17. “And the dragon was wroth against the
“woman, and departed to make war with
“the remnant of her seed; which keep the
“commandments of the God, and have the
“testimony of Jesus.”

Dismayed and irritated, as it seems, by his failure, he departs from the woman: he goes to make war with the remnant of her seed; the same insidious war which he had made with ill success for two centuries against the amended mother, and with more success perhaps against some of her seed who were once ‘clean escaped from them that lived in error.’ England, the man-like Son, having been already specified, may not after this French revolution, apostasy, and return, be ever more signally attempted by the spirit of unbelief. With us unbelief has had all its little day; and, if we may judge from the face of the sky, there is here no prospect of a more favourable to-morrow. Long have we been as gold among the nations, and we hope to be without alloy. But the pure remainder of the woman’s seed, the reignant of

the seven Protestant Churches, are at this time perhaps the chief object of Satan's attack. The manner and result of the conflict are not directly given ; yet from the *many* crowns on the head of the symbolical Word, in chap. xix, we may perhaps conjecture that some at least will escape and join the Protestant confederacy. The war, too, is against those that *keep* (not *kept*) the commandments, and *have* or hold the testimony. This word which we translate by the *keeping*, is, as will be shewn under xiv. 12, so much stronger in the original, as to convey our idea of a sanctuary. May not this imply their final triumph?

As, moreover, the heavens were lately bade to rejoice, because the authority of the Church should no more be made a tool of infidelity, we may also conjecture that the remnant of the pure churches are rather to be attacked by external violence than internal unbelief. As this seems the last machination of the Serpent during the 1260 days, it may probably coincide with the events contained in the seventh vial and the time immediately preceding ; because the unclean spirits, which form the confederacy against all that is pure, come forth from the mouth of the dragon, as well as from the mouth of the beast and false prophet. This is but a conjecture ; and so is it that this war may be against the opponent symbolical Word, who having crowns upon his head, may have symbols of other national churches. It may be an objection to this, that the war is not at all against the man-child, but against the *remnant* of her seed. Although however, I have

made a conjecture on this supposition, I do not apprehend that this remnant of her seed may not be the whole remnant, England included, who from the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century had escaped the furious attacks of the Enemy. We know too well that he beguiled many of them who were clean escaped from error; and England, and the Northern Protestants, may be the rescued remnant; they who *vigilantly keep* the word of God, and *have* the witness of Jesus, who, as the *Word of God*, are to smite the enemies with the sword of the mouth, who, as the *witnesses*, are to slay them with fire from the mouth. It should be remarked that although Babylon is in another description called the Mother of *harlots*, yet this woman, however by her sun she may *partake* of the symbol of Babylon, has a pure seed who are now persecuted. Some copies, however, of great authority read the Mother of *Harlotry*.

These events are budding; but the history of the seven thunders has not been written in prophecy. A few years may write them *in history*, and develop more fully the extent of the prediction of this verse. Let us, if anxiously yet patiently, wait the coming events. The day of the trial of the witnesses is not yet closed; but at the close, they will be found victorious. However, then, we may sympathize with the short afflictions of our Protestant brethren, we know that they are but for a moment; and for ourselves we have cause to be grateful for the assured promise, that both from within, and from without, our England is safe.

Such is partly the history of the workings of the Spirit of unbelief during the 1260 days, of that great agent in ecclesiastical history, which, to the sorrow of the world, has been found worthy of so pre-eminent a place among the opposers of the truth. So terrible an engine has it been, that we should have had cause for astonishment, had we failed to find it in as conspicuous and definite a symbol, as the antitypes of the *less formidable* beast and false prophet. Were it not here delineated, the history of unbelief, open or concealed, embodied or disembodied, which has been so mighty an agent in these latter days, would have only owned one solitary, and in that case uncertain, verse (xvi. 2); a space, and notice, which would have borne no proportion either to its duration or effects. The last and present centuries, considered on the general face of Europe, may be termed the age of unbelief. “ We cannot, therefore, be very far removed from what Daniel calls *the time of the end*. (I am persuaded we live in it). The spirit of the age seems to me sufficiently decisive, ‘ When the son of man cometh,’ said our Lord, ‘ shall he find faith on the earth.’ The present age has been boastfully termed the age of reason ; and, when we consider the sense in which it has been so termed, we can scarcely avoid esteeming the appellation synonymous with the age of unbelief. Individual unbelief, indeed, has existed in all ages of the Church ; but never was there an age, in which infidelity has been so widely and so systematically diffused ; never was there an age, to which the

emphatic question of Christ so closely applied, as the present. Nor am I at all singular in my opinion. The question of our Lord, as it has been well observed by a late eminent divine, certainly gives us reason to expect, that, at the coming of the Son of man, faith shall scarcely be found on earth. It is obvious, therefore, to conclude, that in proportion as the faith decays, the coming of Christ is drawing near. The scoffers of the last days may insolently demand of us, as it was foretold they should, where is the promise of his coming; and object that there is no sign of it, for that all things continue as they were. But this cannot now be said with truth. All things do not continue as they were. There hath been a marvellous change of late in the affairs of this world, and in the state of religion, with which all serious men are alarmed, justly apprehending that some still greater event is to follow. The SIGNS OF THE TIMES, to those who can read them, are many."

This quotation would alone prevail much to prove the propriety of the application of the symbol. But the allegation is surely needless. That the interpretation is novel, is confessed with an emotion between satisfaction and regret. Obvious as it appears, concordant as it has been shewn with itself, and with the events, and concordant as it will hereafter be found, with all the many synchronical prophecies, I must confess that my great admiration, nay astonishment, is that it should not ere this have been old.

CHAP. XIII.

PART I.

VERSE 1, THE PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN ROMAN EMPIRE, ITS ORIGIN, AND APPEARANCE; 2, COMPOSITION AND POWER; 3, DEATH AND LIFE; 4, WORSHIP; 5, 6, SPIRIT AND DURATION; 7, WAR AND TRIUMPH: 8, EXCEPTIONS TO HIS WORSHIP: 9, 10, WARNING OF THE CAUSES OF HIS SUCCESS.

" Order confounded lies, all beauty void,
Distinction lost, and gay variety
One universal blot.

Thomson's Autumn.

IN our discussion of the eleventh chapter we assumed that the wild beast of the seventh verse symbolized the Roman Empire. As this symbol will henceforward be found in frequent use, we should now ascertain the correctness of the assumption.

A wild or ravenous beast is a dominion, either ecclesiastical or temporal, adverse to the pure faith. His heads denote the different forms of government, under the succession of which the Empire subsists; and the horns the different kingdoms by which the beast has power.

St. John has been termed a great imitator in his symbols; but he used the established symbolical language, and with no more justice deserves

the charge of plagiarism, than we in using the same words as our fathers, for the same wants. Daniel's prophecies extend from his own times to the end of the world ; and of course embrace the most prominent circumstances in the history of the religion of the world. The whole ground was therefore pre-occupied, both as to symbols and facts. Succeeding prophets could only enlarge upon both symbols and incidents, so as to preserve an unity in variety. Herein appears the admirable success of St. John.

Daniel, after portraying the three first Empires, the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian, in the symbols of a Lion, a Bear, and a Leopard, proceeds to the fourth, the Roman ; and shews us a wild beast with ten horns. As there does not exist a doubt respecting the antitypes of these four beasts, and as indeed the accuracy of the fulfilment is in every one's mouth, it is not requisite to dwell upon the subject. It may not, however, be without its influence to quote the words of Mede. "The Roman Empire to be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, was believed by the Church of Israel, both before and in our Saviour's time ; received by the disciples of the Apostles, and the whole Christian church, for the first 300 years, without any known contradiction. And I confess, having so good ground in Scripture, it is with me *tantum non articulus fidei*, little less than an article of faith." St. John, therefore, lived in the days of Daniel's fourth beast, and having occasion to notice this fourth universal Empire, he enlarges upon the identical symbol;

he describes a nameless beast like the leopard of Daniel, composed of parts of two preceding beasts, the lion and the bear, and among other particulars with the original ten horns of Daniel's fourth nameless beast. As therefore it is uncontroverted and incontronvertible that the fourth beast of Daniel represented the Roman Empire, it follows that the beast of St. John is the Roman Empire likewise, the same secular Roman Empire, like the other beast, temporal and not ecclesiastical. The great confirmation of a system is to shew it accordant with itself. The advantage was too great to be altogether foregone, and a digression so brief may be well excused.

That this is the Roman wild beast is, moreover, declared by St. John; for when he describes the seven heads, or forms of government, he particularly specifies that the antitype of the sixth head existed certainly at no earlier period than the time of the delivery of the prophecy. Five heads had fallen: the seventh head had not arisen. Now we understand the symbol of the wild beast, and know that St. John saw the proudest days of the Roman Empire under the Imperial head; and that no fifth persecuting Empire is ever to succeed. We should thus know, moreover, were we sure that St. John spoke at the time of the delivery of prophecy, and not as at a certain point of it, that the imperial form of government, under which the Empire then subsisted, was the sixth head of the beast.

On a prior occasion the beast who slew the witnesses was identified with this beast, seven-

headed and ten-horned. We were, therefore, warranted in our assumption that the symbolical witnesses were slain by no other Power than the representative of the Roman Empire.

1. “ And I was * stationed on the sand of the sea ; and I saw out of the sea a wild beast rising up ; having horns ten, and heads seven ; and upon his † horns ten diadems.
3. “ And one of his heads as having been wounded to death : and the ‡ wound of the death of him was healed.”

This beast is the Roman Empire. How then, since it had arisen long before the birth of the prophet, could St. John have beheld its rise? An easy reply might silence this objection. Such an expression is at all events accordant with the symbol, which regards at once the past, the present, and the future. Daniel, long after the meridian splendour of the Assyrian Empire, which he depicts as the first beast, describes himself, nevertheless, as beholding *all* the four beasts arising in succession out of the sea. We may not however need this answer on the

* ἤσθην, *I was stationed*, for εἰσῆθην, *I stood*.—Griesbach.

† ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν, the preposition here governs a genitive; whereas the same preposition in the very next member of the sentence is made to govern an accusative, as in the very same words of xii. 3, ἐπὶ τας κεφαλας. The distinction probably results from the nature of the subject. The crowns of xii. are directly *upon* the heads, as are properly the names of blasphemy; but the diadems are *upon* (*the summit*) of the horns.

‡ ἐσφαγμένος, as having been smitten.—Griesbach.

present occasion, because this beast is, as it were, an amphibious monster of whom no account is taken, except on the commission of his ravages upon men. At what era then did he make a very conspicuous emergence for the renewal of his devastation, or when did he rise again into authority? As in the determination of this point there will appear the distinguishing characteristic of this beast, *his living death*, we must briefly recur to our ideas of such bestial existence.

The character is the life-blood, is the soul. The death of a wild-beast is the loss of the spirit which actuated the body. When a community is represented by any symbol which has in its nature a peculiar, inseparable character, such as the witnessing of the witnesses, the wildness of the wild-beast, the death-wound is the legal cognizable loss or abandonment of that character. Such death by no means implies the dissolution of the body politic, in which that life existed.

A wild-beast ravens against the Lamb. The wild-beast is a domination opposing the pure faith. This wild-beast in its nature as a wild-beast is untameable. This opposition is the principle of vitality. Take away this opposition; let the body lately symbolized by the beast be made obedient to the pure faith, *then*, though the state of the body politic remain unaffected, the *wild-beast* instantly dies; it is wounded to death; it ceases to exist as a *ravenous wild-beast*. If after such conversion the body politic return to its former opposition, it becomes again a *wild-beast*. The deadly wound is healed.

It is our present purpose, not only to prove that such death and strange manner of revival happened to the *Roman* beast, but to mark the precise year in which the beast revived, or in which, as otherwise expressed, he rose from the sea.

As power was given unto him to continue, says Mede, or perform exploits, says Parkhurst, forty and two months, the will and the deed, there is at once the strongest presumption that his continuance runs through that *same* grand period of 1260 days, alluded to by the several parallel accounts in the little book. The first and plainest sense should, however, be always embraced, and be afterwards symbolically construed. The concise expression, *the beast makes*, must, I apprehend, therefore, be considered with the foregoing part of the verse. He had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and he *makes them**—*prevalent*. The unbelieving Pagan Dragon gave him his power and seat and great authority, and *his power to make* the world receive these blasphemies forty and two months. In any case his revival or reappearance must synchronize with the aforesaid commencement of the 1260 days in the year 606; and we should first look upon the events of that year to ascertain whether any resurrection of the beast then took place; or in plain terms, whether the Roman Empire, which

* Mede, I find, though he prefer, and on very plausible classical grounds (see ad cap. xiii.) the idea of *duration* in the *καινοῦς*; yet if it be at all understood in the more literal sense, “*id omnino ad blasphemandi actum referendum esset!*”

had become Christian under Constantine, did in the year 606, by public legal act abjure the pure faith.

Now that persecuting Heathen Empire, so aptly designated in Daniel by the ravenous beast, lost by its public profession of Christianity under Constantine, the bestial character. A sword at that time inflicted a death-wound upon the beast; and in the memorable year 313, when Constantine published his famous edict for the advancement of Christianity, *the beast* died. This is plain; and if we historically follow the successive years, from 313 to 605 inclusive, it will not be less plain that no *public legal Imperial act* annulled either directly or virtually that famous edict for the advancement of the pure faith. At the same time, from causes external and internal, the purity of the faith among individuals continued in a rapidly progressive state of deterioration, until in the year 606 we discern some most memorable events, which accomplished a striking revolution in the established religion of the Roman Empire. In this year, as has been shewn, the Emperor Phocas legally established a spiritual tyranny, a wild beast, over the Christian world. He made the Bishop of Rome universal Bishop; and the infallibility of this Bishop, decreed by the law, was asserted by the sword of the Empire. That infallibility was instantly pleaded; that authority exerted, in the cause of renewed idolatry. The apostolic successors of St. Peter became the representatives of Judas, who betrayed his master; and the Pagan Roman

Empire had scarcely ever been overspread with so thick a darkness as was now induced by the corruptions of an apostate Christian church. “The ancient Pantheon,” (Fab. i. 282) “formerly the general sink of all the abominations of paganism, was now restored, though under a different name, to its original destination. The mediatory demons of corrupted Christianity occupied the vacant places of the mediatory demons of the Gentiles ; and, instead of Jupiter and his kindred deities, the virgin-mother of Christ and all his martyred saints received the blind adoration of the revived ten-horned beast.”

A counterpart of these sentiments is found as cited by Mede, 642, in greater strength because from Theodoret, himself a friend to the impious system. “The Martyrs’ temples are frequently to be seen, famous for their beauty and greatness. Nay the Martyrs have utterly abolished and whipt out of the minds of men, the memory of those who were called Gods. Our Lord God has brought his dead (viz. the Martyrs) into the room and place (the temples) of your Gods, whom he hath sent packing, and hath given their honour to his Martyrs : for instead of the Feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus are now celebrated the Festivals of Peter and Paul, and Thomas and Sergius, &c. and other holy martyrs.” Now judge, adds Mede, whether *Διδασκαλία Δαιμόνων* hath hitherto been fitly applied or not. See on this last head, says Mr. Fraser, Middleton’s letter from Rome, in which he proves, from the testimony of the Classics, compared with what passed under his own eye,

that the mode of worship established in Rome differs not in the most trivial circumstance from that practised by the ancient Romans, except in the name, that it is mere Paganism with a Christian aspect. The beast has now taken his station on the shore.

In the year 606 the beast re-appeared upon the earth : in this year he emerged from the sea, or as in the xith and xviiith chapters he ascended from the abyss (*of waters*, Luke viii. 31) : in this year his wound of death was first healed; and all the earth began to wonder after him. It is observable that St. John did not see the wound inflicted upon the beast's head, which idea our translation might suggest. He saw him as he saw the Lamb of verse 6, mortally wounded, *while yet the mortal wound was healed*. He bears the mortal wound: he has, *continues to have*, the wound of death; yet he lives. In the 14th verse again, he *has* the wound by the sword, and *lived*. In somewhat of the same spirit, in chap. xvii. he is the beast that was, and is not, and yet is. This expression will be hereafter enlarged upon. It may, however, be here suggested that the description implies that the Beast is what he was, the Pagan and idolatrous Beast, and yet is not. The corruptions of Pagan idolatry are actually revived; yet under another form and name. The manner, therefore, is clear, in which St. John might have been able to behold the rise of that beast, which had existed for ages before him. He of course foresaw, though it be not *here* specified, the death under Constantine: he begins the history with the revival or re-

appearance under Phocas. “He stood on the sand of the sea; and saw the beast rising up out of the sea.” It will be subsequently shewn, however, to be doubtful whether in St. John’s idea this beast had any existence prior to 606. That year might have been the year of the nativity of St. John’s beast; for it is by no means clear on the authority of the text that, the *head* having been wounded, is not rather a gift from the Pagan dragon to the pseudo-christian beast. The dragon gave his power and seat and authority, and (I saw) one of his heads wounded to death. The *and*, I saw, is more than suspected to be an interpolation: it is rejected by Griesbach. As the dragon and the beast have, however, such close affinity, the real sense of the interpretation may not be at all affected. The dragon and the beast are worshipped together; the beast, and the dragon who gave him power.

What is this standing on the sand of the sea? I am not satisfied with the only interpretation that occurred to me, and which I find at large in Woodhouse, 329; namely, that the specification of place is inserted to mark the change from the heaven, the scene of the last chapter.

Having vindicated the propriety of the expression, that St. John saw the beast rising out of the sea, the purport of this part of the description remains to be considered.

Under the symbol of the sea, Dr. Faber remarks that its restless surface may typify a state of *tumultuous agitation*. I should rather apprehend this to be an unauthorized refinement; and that

no ideas of turbulence exist in the sea, except when we know the surface to be restless, when the winds strive upon it as they strive in Daniel. The sea, or a great body of waters, in contradistinction to a river, is a great nation or empire territorially considered. A wild idea has been suggested that the beast rose from the sea, or *Westward*, as St. John looked from Patmos towards Europe!

Although Daniel describes this beast as *at first* arising from the stormy sea, or from the midst of wars and commotions in the territorial subject of the prophecy; yet this can have nothing in common with the sea of St. John. This is not the first rise of the beast, but the second. The question before us is therefore, if for more general satisfaction we include Dr. Faber's hypothesis, What tumultuous agitation within the Roman Empire caused it to relapse into the bestial state; or rather from what great nation arose the beast; and what healed his wound of death, or what recalled him from the abyss?

This sea typifies the Roman Empire, possibly adding the idea of winds upon the sea, those tumults of that Gothic invasion, which by God's inscrutable permission rushed along like another deluge; swept away the precious monuments of art and science, and threw back society into that state from which it had been so painfully emerging for so many centuries. When civilization received so mortal a blow, religion lost her stay. The thickest night of barbarism again overspread the Western world: idolatry and

superstition were in the darkness mistaken for religion ; and thus, as Machiavel most justly observes with respect to the Western division of the Empire, “ the incursions of the northern barbarians contributed more than any circumstance whatever to advance the power of the papacy.” The Eastern division was little less unsettled. Wars without, and tyranny within, were universally stirring the waves of popular commotion. From such a sea, at least from the Roman Empire, which chanced to be in such a state, the beast arose. May it be possible that literal Patmos was the sea-shore or sand of that sea on which St. John was standing, or must we submit to be driven for a temporary refuge to the ideas of mere prophetical machinery ?

1. “ Having horns ten and heads seven ; and upon his horns ten diadems.”

The angel, in a partial interpretation of this symbol, speedily to be considered, positively declares the heads to be seven kings, or forms of government ; and particularizes, that at the time of the vision, five had fallen, and one was, and the other was not yet come. It is evident that the symbol of an Empire includes the past, present, and future history of that Empire ; or that the seven heads of the seven-headed Beast are not to be considered as contemporaneous, but successive. Thus the very head under which St. John lived, the Imperial, is termed the sixth head ; and the five preceding are pointed out to

us by two of the most eminent Roman historians, Livy * and Tacitus † ; 1, Kings ; 2, Consuls ; 3, Dictators ; 4, Decemvirs ; 5, Consular-Tribunes." These had indeed, as Livy informs us, all existed by the year 387, A. C. ; and until the erection of the Imperial power, among all the variations of faction, no other authority was ever the legally constituted head of the Empire.

The *first triumvirate*, composed of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, was a mere private agreement between the parties to support each other in their interests ; and this triumvirate exerted itself, by raising Cæsar to the *consulate*, to be enjoyed in trust. By this consul, the authorized head of the state, the government was administered, with the usual checks from the colleague, and the revolting senate, and the factious people. The *second triumvirate* composed of Octavius Cæsar, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, was no more a *legal* government than the first. Without pretence or shadow of right, these men met, and debated what form *they should give the commonwealth* ; and they finally agreed to govern under the *consular* form by raising a fourth to the consulate, and *investing themselves* with a supreme authority for five years. This was simply a *conspiracy* of three individuals, which was almost immediately dissolved. The Empire was thrown into civil wars : in the sequel Cæsar was *legally* created *Tribune* for life ; and finally, upon the formal intreaties both of the Senate and people,

* Liv. Hist. l. vi. c. 1.

† Tacit. Annal. l. i. in initio.

accepted the absolute sovereignty under the title of *Imperator*. In this year, A. U. C. 726, arose the 6th head of the Beast; the very head which under Constantine received by conversion the wound of death, and which, although the wound of death continued, was yet healed by the Christian apostasy under the Emperor Phocas. Upon this sixth imperial head the ten horns eventually arose. We must awhile defer the consideration of the seventh head; and directed by the text, apply ourselves to the horns ten, and upon the horns ten diadems.

It must first be remarked, that this prophecy, as far as it respected *the horns*, was fully understood by the ancient Fathers, who lived before the completion. Tertullian (A. D. 192), speaking of the man of sin, and of him who letted or hindered his approach, says that the latter “must be the *Roman state*, * *the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist*.” Cyril of Jerusalem (A. D. 350), says, that † “*ten kingdoms of the Romans shall arise together, in different places indeed, but they shall reign at the same time.*”

The symbol of an Empire, I repeat, must be construed and considered, inclusive of past, present, and future. In fact, the beast rising in 606, had lost the powers of more than one of those horns, originally *ten*. They had fallen before an

* *Cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superinducet.*

† Δεκα μερ ὅπει Ρωμαῖον εγκρίεται βασιλεὺς ω διαφοραὶ μερ ισως τοποῖς, κατὰ δὲ τον αὐτον βασιλεύεται καίρον. Catch. 15, Cap. 5.

eleventh, a little horn in Daniel, as a horn unmentioned by St. John. As, therefore, only one of the heads was in real existence at this point of time, so but eight of the original horns according to the sure word of Daniél's parallel prophecy.

If we see a fulfilment of any particular prophecy, sufficient for a satisfactory conviction of its divine origin, and our partial success in interpretation, we are apt to be unconsciously warped by a desire of understanding altogether, and perceiving at once an imaginary exactness. Thus when commentators had clearly beheld the Roman Empire in this symbol, perceived the correctness of the ancient interpretations, and ascertained to their satisfaction, that *about* ten kingdoms arose in the turbulence of Gothic invasion, they soon convinced themselves, though without full knowledge of the subject, that they had found the *particular* ten. Hence a number of systems differing a little from each other in the enumeration, but in full agreement respecting the sum. This partial and regulated discordance may convince us that about ten settled kingdoms were found upon the subsiding of the Gothic flood. This might almost have satisfied us, had we even wanted an unimpeachable catalogue. Machiavel, however, an historian who wrote for no system very favourable to the cause of Christianity, reckons up "*the ten primary kingdoms into which the Roman Empire was divided;*" and this catalogue of the historian is confirmed by Lloyd, who with little or no variation states the kingdoms, and the dates at which they arose

between 356 and 526. 1, The Ostrogoths in Mœsia; 2, the Visigoths in Pannonia; 3, the Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain; 4, the Vandals in Africa; 5, the Franks in France; 6, the Burgundians in Burgundy; 7, the Heruli and Turingi in Italy; 8, the Saxons and Angles in Britain; 9, the Huns in Hungary; and 10, the Lombards, at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy. The self-same catalogue is exhibited by that excellent chronologer Bp. Lloyd, who adds the dates when these ten kingdoms arose: 1, the Huns, about A. D. 356; 2, the Ostrogoths, 377; 3, the Visigoths, 378; 4, the Franks, 407; 5, the Vandals, 407; 6, the Sueves and Alans, 407; 7, the Burgundians, 407; 8, the Heruli and Rugii, 476; 9, the Saxons, 476; 10, the Longobards in the North of Germany, 483; in Hungary, 526. (Faber i. 219.)

Such were the horns which had *ten crowns*. The horns, by their signification of independent sovereignty, exclude all dependent states, such as the Greek Exarchate of Ravenna, or the petty state of Rome after the transfer of the seat of Empire. It is singular that while the Empire could be considered as an Empire with a legal head, there should not be less than ten independent sovereignties erected within it. Singular as this is, we have seen the remarkable fulfilment in the establishment of those kingdoms, even upon the late seat of Empire; while, nevertheless, from the peculiar circumstance of the division of the Empire and subsequent translation, it never wanted an authorized head.

But, why, it may be asked, do both Machiavel and Lloyd concur in placing all the ten in the Western division? Why may not the Constantinopolitan monarchy be included? I know it has been said in reply that, after the division of the Empire, and until Charlemagne, when the Eastern Empire ceased from the character of a wild beast, this Constantinopolitan power constituted the sixth *head* of the beast, upon which the ten horns had grown; and being a head could scarcely be a horn. I doubt, however, whether this be an answer; and whether the horns came under the cognizance of the prophet before the Empire was translated to the West, and before the Eastern *purified* Empire ceased altogether to be the Beast. The former answer introduces a confusion, which I do not like, between the head and the horns. The head has nothing to do with territory: it is simply the form of government. How the Western Emperor, without a foot of ground in the Imperial capacity, has existed among the independent kings, will sufficiently appear. I shall postpone to the seventeenth chapter the consideration of the crowns on the horns. The horns alone, without their crowns, are national independent powers; and the crowns are consequently something in addition.

“ And upon his heads names of blasphemy;
“ and he was full of names of blasphemy; and
“ there was given unto him a mouth speaking
“ great things and blasphemies; and power

" was given unto him to * make until months
 " forty-two; and he opened his mouth in blas-
 " phemy against the God to blaspheme his
 " name and his tabernacle, ([†] and) them that
 " dwell in the heaven."

Here are collected the several texts upon the blasphemies. The power *given* is plainly given by the *dragon*; and I cannot doubt that the *making* is in some sense † the *making blasphemies*. In the symbol it is obvious that an animal cannot have the speaking mouth of a man, unless, as with Balaam, the mouth be given. In the interpretation it may perhaps appear that the *given* mouth of blasphemy, given by the dragon, may be intended as another discriminative mark of the *pseudo-christian* wild beast, who *receives* his will and power to blaspheme, or his character of blasphemy, from the symbolical dragon of Heathenism and Infidelity, the God of this world, the lying Spirit, who himself first assuming the

* *τανατος* is doubted by Griesbach, but in apparent neglect of the authority of the four first of his own rules. In consequence of its acknowledged obscurity, the word becomes a ‘durior, brevior, difficilior, obscurior, insolentior lectio, et præferatur.’ The word would have been omitted by many copyists, and for the same reason would not have been inserted by any. The *ταλαμης*, subjoined in some copies, but by Griesbach rejected, is plainly no more than an officious illustration from verse the seventh, of the presumed sense of the *τανατος* in the present instance.

† Griesbach doubts.

† ‘Operari, lips. 4, in margine, *loquendi*, Prosper.’—Griesbach, in loc.

organs and form of the Serpent, had used the powers of speech to deceive our first parents. The proper idea from the symbolical mouth has been long understood to be ‘*a lawgiver, civil or sacred.*’

We are in a measure accustomed to restrict our ideas of blasphemy to an irreverence against the Deity. The ancient acceptation was more extensive, as we may learn from the accusation against Stephen. ‘We have heard him speak blasphemous words against *Moses and this holy place and the law;*’ and from the blasphemies in Ezekiel against the *mountains of Israel;* and perhaps from the blasphemies in 1 Mac. ii. 6, committed by the pollution of the temple and the sacrifices. The expression is nearly parallel, when the beast blasphemes the name, and the tabernacle, (*and*) them that dwell in heaven. The original blasphemy conveyed therefore the idea of impious irreverence; but not as particularly limited against the Supreme Being.

It has been said that blasphemy in the prophetic * language denotes apostasy. It certainly does so in Ezekiel xx. 27. ‘Your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me,’ and the Lord continues to upbraid them with their impious and cruel *idolatry.* In Is. lxv. 7, the Lord is blasphemed by the idolatry on the mountains and hills; and such

* In Mede, Ad Cap. xiii, there is a long and rather fanciful discussion upon the blasphemy, which does not militate *against* the idea of apostasy.

is perhaps the purport of the cited passage of 1 Mac. ii. 6. If we embrace this idea of blasphemous *apostasy*, as I believe we must, it must still occur that the name of blasphemy was upon his six first heads, as well as upon the seventh. Now, although the seventh was exactly and literally an apostate, how were the first six? In answer to this question we must consider all the ancient world as having apostatized from the law written in their hearts, by which God left not himself without a witness, and from the faith once delivered to Adam, or Noah, and subsequently lost in the general corruption. In this sense the whole beast was apostate, until slain under Constantine.

Both prophecy and history inform us that the beast revived, or relapsed into its old abominations under a new name. If then the first Pagan heads of the beast were blasphemous, the two last, the sixth having been Pagan and subsequently Christian, and in its last state with the seventh pseudo-christian, are no less so. The personal heads of the Empire, most of whom from their acceptance of the Pagan pontificate were no less the legal representatives of the ecclesiastical, than of the secular governments of the Empire, have uniformly supported the idolatrous superstition; and it has been joyfully received by the whole beast, which is full of names of blasphemy. The blasphemy is thus *apostasy* rather than *idolatry*. It is an apostasy from the saints who are symbolical of purity. It strikes us at once as much too literal to conceive that the literal saints are blasphemed;

nor indeed is there found any accomplishment in the Romish annals, whether we take it in the literal sense of blasphemy, or in that of idolatry. That the system of demonolatry is an impious irreverence against God, even to a literal blasphemy, cannot be disputed ; since it teaches men to worship as gods those that are no gods ; yet that it is an irreverence to the literal saints ‘ that dwell in heaven’ cannot be so strictly alleged ; nor does it appear in this sense that the tabernacle has any meaning at all. If according to Griesbach the copulative *and* be rejected, the *tabernacle* receives the partial explanation as ‘ *those that dwell in heaven.*’ Thus the altar is frequently representative of the ministers at the altar.

We must now consider the time at which the beast opened his mouth. This mouth to speak great things and blaspheme was received in 606, when Phocas erected within his Empire an ecclesiastical despotism, an absolute spiritual tyrant, apostatizing from the doctrine of him who said to his Apostles, ‘ All ye are brethren.’ This ecclesiastical despotism, thus established by the law of the Empire to speak great things, was inseparable from the revival of *the beast* ; and this mouth, thus empowered, very soon began to make those blasphemies which were to be prevalent until the 1260 days should come to their end. As then the blasphemy is against those that dwell in heaven, we must endeavour to discover who were in heaven to be blasphemed, what truth from which there might be apostasy at the time immediately prior to the commencement of the 1260 days.

These inhabitants of heaven were described in the fifth chapter, the mystical assemblage composing the symbolical church general. The symbolical blasphemy is the literal Apostasy. The apostasy from ‘*the God*’ symbolical, is from the Church general. The very form of the expression is abundant confirmation, *in blasphemy against the God*, the collective God; viz. *to blaspheme his name, and his dwelling, (and) them that dwell in heaven*. Here the God is, as it were, identified with his name, and tabernacle, and with them that dwell in heaven; with that assemblage in the temple, the Eunthrone Power, the four living ones, the twenty-four elders, and the multitude of angels, composing, as was shewn, the one idea of the Church general. This or these does he blaspheme by his apostasy, or turning away from them.

2. “And the beast, which I saw, was like unto
“a leopard; and his feet were as of a bear;
“and his mouth as a mouth of a lion.”

The Roman beast is compounded of the leopard, bear, and lion. The reason is obvious. This Empire was part of the Babylonian lion, part of the Medo-Persian bear. He was like unto the Grecian leopard; for, beside the possession of all the dominions of the Grecian Empire, which also was composed in part of the Babylonian and Medo-Persian, it is to be particularly observed that St. John saw him after his rise from the sea. At this time the Roman Empire might almost be said to have become Grecian, at least Græco-

Roman. In addition to the divisions that had ere this century been so long and so often made between the Eastern and Western Empires, in addition to the long affectation of imitating the style and language, the arts and sciences of the Greeks, Constantinople, the new capital of Greece, had long been absolutely become the seat of the Roman Empire. So peculiarly was this predicted likeness fulfilled by the translation of the seat of Roman government. Above a century, moreover, before the beast rose to St. John's sight, the expiring Senate of Rome made an absolute legal abjuration of the division of the Empire; and a formal transfer of the seat of Empire to the territories of the Grecian Leopard. In the very year 476, in which the Western Empire was finally extinguished by Odoacer, an address of resignation was unanimously decreed and transmitted to the Eastern Emperor Zeno. "They solemnly disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the Imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect at the same time both the East and West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople." (Gib. Rom. Emp. vol. vi. 227.)

Thus in the year 606 was the Roman Empire like the Grecian. The beast without a name was so like the leopard as almost to be mistaken for the same. It should here be perhaps observed that the bear does not excite in the East the uncouth ideas which we annex to the animal.

Hushai compares David and his men to a bear robbed of her whelps (2 Sam. xvii. 8); and we find it even applied to the Deity in Lam. iii. 10. Eastern princes to this day, as we know from more than one example, conceive themselves as much honoured by the simile of a bear, as did the chivalrous western hero in the comparison to a lion. The feet, moreover, of the bear are no mean part of the symbol. The body is not only supported by them; but particularly in the bear they are, as the hands and arms of the man, the very weapons of attack and defence, the strength of the body. Mede hints, moreover, an idea that as the bear of the Persian Empire was *supported* and *strengthened* by the Magi, so this by the monks and clergy; and that the *mouth* of the lion may have a respect to the resemblance of Babylonian idolatry.

2. “And the Dragon gave him his power, and
“his throne; and authority great.”

The Dragon has been amply shewn to be generally symbolical of *Infidelity*, whether Pagan or Mahometan, Deist or Atheist. This spirit of Unbelief gives the beast his seat or throne.

It should here, however, be observed that, according to the oneirocritics, a dragon signifies *majesty*, and a serpent *disease*. If this interpretation be superinduced upon that which has already been established, it may easily appear that as the Devil is the dragon, the old serpent, or *Diseased Majesty* in the *literal* sense, so a corrupt

establishment of religion must be the same *Diseased Majesty* in the *symbolical*. The Dragon indeed *was* anciently the favourite symbol of majesty. The Emperors wore silken robes, embroidered with gold, in which dragons were represented. Gibbon, speaking of the procession of Constantine from Milan to Rome (vol. iii.), speaks of “the streaming banners of silk embossed with gold, and shaped in the form of dragons, which waved round the person of the Emperor.”—“The Dragon,” says Hales, “was the tutelar God worshipped at Rome, *first brought from Epidaurus in Greece*. B. C. 290.”

Now we know from history that in the year 606, when the beast rose up out of the sea and was placed on the throne; the Roman Empire was established in Greece. Greece therefore, the seat of empire, was the throne of the beast: and now as the dragon of infidelity, during its whole existence to the first death of the beast under Constantine, had hitherto been Pagan, what country in the world could rival Greece in the claim of the throne of Paganism, Greece, whose impious mythology the Roman beast had fostered, enlarged, and protected, from the first to the sixth head? Thus the Spirit of Paganism, which had never been utterly destroyed, gave him his late throne; and the beast was demonstrated a coadjutor and ally. It may appear, moreover, that this was not the beast’s *proper* throne; whether considered as having a prior existence, as Daniel’s fourth beast, or considered by the Roman name it invariably claimed, and was actually

allowed. The title of Emperor of the Greeks was more than once rejected with the highest indignation. "After the restoration of the Western Empire," (Gib. vol. x.) "the Franks asserted with some justice their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans ; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks. But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine ; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of Romans adhered to the last fragments of the Empire of Constantinople."

To revert for an instant to the idea of the Dragon being the literal Devil, it is not very obvious how he could have any earthly seat or throne at all ; since, moreover, the same author who holds this strange idea refuses to the Papal beast any seat or throne, because he had only a petty principality.

Daniel's goat, which ran to the ram, and came close, and smote him, has been demonstrated to be the Grecian Power, which with unexampled rapidity over-ran the dominions of the Medo-Persian Ram, and coming close, smote him. By the form of the expression the change of Alexander's real seat of empire is most clearly exhibited. A beast therefore has locomotive powers,

and can change his seat or throne without variation of his character or body. The Roman beast in this manner changed from Rome to Constantinople; thence it moved to Germany; lately it has been translated to France, and it may revert to Rome. This remark is made in preparation for the fifth vial, which is poured out on the existing seat of this wandering beast.

When, however, the Dragon gave him his throne, he gave him also his power and authority, and at the same time, according to the reading which seems preferable, gave him one of his heads having been wounded to death. The ~~word~~, to all appearance, as was said, had no place in the original text. I have forbore to dwell upon this correction, because it does not affect the sense. The beast rises with that sixth head, which, as belonging to his predecessor and likeness and ally the dragon of Paganism, had received a death-wound. He is, as it were, the vicegerent. The dragon could not at this time act as absolute infidel Paganism; he therefore gave the beast his power, and great authority, and raised him up in his sixth head. It is too notorious that the Roman beast has both been clothed with the robe of revived Paganism, and has also by the late undisguised apostasy of one of its chief members to the very lie of Antichrist, dropped the mask for a time, and unblushingly shewn from whom was delegated the power and authority, which had been assumed and exercised. That chief member has now become its head; and the beast, who sat for a time on the dragon's Gre-

cian throne of Paganism, has now taken his seat on that Gallic throne, which the dragon of Infidelity so lately occupied, when he again exposed himself for a time in all his native hideousness, and when under the second vial, *to live without God in the world*, was the solemn covenant of twenty-six millions of men ! The former part of the third and fifth verses, and the whole of the sixth, has been already incidentally considered. We pass them therefore without further notice, and proceed with Griesbach's text in the prophet's narrative, premising that the spirit of the passage seems better preserved by joining together the latter part of the third and beginning of the fourth verse.

- “ And wondered all the world after the
4. “ beast ; and they worshipped the dragon,
“ because he gave the power unto the beast ; and
“ they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is
“ like unto the beast, and who is able to make
5. “ war with him ? And there was given unto him
“ a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies ; and there was given unto him a power
“ to make (viz. *blasphemies*) months forty-two.
7. “ And there was given unto him, a war to
“ make with the saints ; and to overcome
“ them. And there was given unto him a
“ power over every tribe and people and
3. “ tongue and nation. And there shall worship him all the dwellers upon the earth, of
“ whom there is not written the name in the
“ book of the life of the Lamb, the slain, from
“ the world’s foundation.”

In what can the worship of an Empire consist, except in devotion to the principles of that Empire? The wondering after the beast, or the great admiration of him, must imply very nearly the same.

Parkhurst informs us, with a number of references, that this *worship* is the posture both of civil reverence and homage, and of religious worship; and adds that, whether the former or the latter must be determined from the circumstances of the case. Animals have certainly been adored, as was the very eagle by the Roman legions; and this beast is the God of the earth; but as the beast is an Empire, the meaning in the interpretation must be devotion to the principles of that Empire. In the East, indeed, there was not any distinction made between the postures of religious adoration and civil ceremony; and perhaps as little in the internal feelings. The Romans indeed deified the Emperors. “The Asiatic Greeks were the first inventors, the successors of Alexander the first objects, of this servile and impious mode of adulation. It was easily transferred from the kings to the governors of Asia; and the Roman magistrates very frequently were adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices!” (Gib. vol. i.) This remark is strongly exemplified by a passage in Quintus Curtius (lib. vi. cap. 6), in which it is said, “that Alexander thought the habit and manners of the Macedonian kings unequal to his greatness, after the conquest of Asia; and was for being treated according to the modes of Per-

sia, where kings were reverenced after the manner of the Gods ; he therefore suffered people, in token of their respect, to lie upon the ground before him, &c."

It will immediately occur that the posture of kneeling to our own monarchs, in this country always unceremonious and always free, is not so ancient as to be altogether forgotten. The posture into which St. John threw himself before the angel, in xix. 10, and xxii. 8, will appear in the same manner to be an expression of great reverence altogether conformable to the usages of his country. Our English word *devotion* is very similar. We are *devoted* to a church, sect, party, or study. There is not only a devotion to our God; but a devotion to a prince, or even a mistress.

That all the inhabitants of the Roman earth have adopted the practically infidel principles of the dragon's deputy, and thus still worshipped the dragon, who had given this power unto the beast, is as clear as that they were devoted to the pseudo-christian principles of the beast, and thus worshipped the beast, and exalted his praise. The devotion of the world to the dragon of unbelief appears, however, *spontaneous*. No force is used: it is entirely voluntary. For fifteen hundred years infidelity, however cherished, was never forced upon the Roman world. It existed individually, but never nationally; as a *spirit* deceiving, and never embodied.

The great period of the 1260 days, which next comes under our notice, has been esteemed a distinctive mark of the several parallel branches of

the little book. As therefore this mark does not again occur, until the little book closes with the end of the fourteenth chapter, the fourteenth should not have been divided from the chapter under consideration. These arbitrary divisions, formed in the darkness of the thirteenth century, are clearly without authority. If indeed this chapter were divided from the next, the sense might be much affected ; inasmuch as there would seem no exceptions to the beast's universal dominion during the 1260 days. Upon the junction of the chapters appear those glorious exceptions in prophecy, which are recorded in the annals of our own days, and the days of our fathers. In the midst of the 1260 days, the Lamb is thus seen to stand upon the Mount Sion ; and the messengers are on the wing, in the expanse of heaven, calling on every people to escape from the dominion of the beasts. The former exception for the names in the book of life of the slain Lamb is rather an exception for the individuals who through much sorrow entered into the kingdom, who from their short existence, or existence in different years and countries, could not be symbolically designated as a simple community. They are like Daniel's men of understanding, who fall by the sword, and flame, and captivity and spoil many days. As Daniel's first set of men of understanding are in chap. vii, so Daniel's second set seem alluded to in this verse, and in the kindred 144,000 of the next chapter, the comprehensive number of the Church general.

There are parallel texts respecting the book of life in Ex. xxxii. 32, Phil. iv. 3, Rev. iii. 5, xvii. 8, xx. 12, and xxi. 17. The book of life has perhaps its title from the ancient custom relating to the records of kings. Among these was generally a peculiar book in which were entered the names and actions of those who had performed especial and meritorious services. Such was probably the book which contained Mordecai's deserts, and which was read before the King Ahasuerus in the night when he could not sleep. (Esth. vi. 1, 2.) The symbolized communities make a subsequent and separate appearance, in *the presence of this Lamb and his company*, and in the presence of each other. The beast is indeed to continue to make *blasphemies* the whole time; but not with uniform extetision and success: his dominion under one of his heads is, as we shall find, to be very limited, and the beast also is diminished. Upon the angel's invitation some obey the mandate; and some of these *keep the commandments and the faith*. These are, as it were, the very sanctuaries of religion. I have thus stepped forward to a view of the angels to preclude that appalling idea which it is the very subject of this whole work to oppose. Protestant England is not reserved to feel for one moment the yoke of corruption. Without apprehension, we may now dwell upon the *past events of the war and conquest over the saints*.

That this war and conquest must be a literal persecution, is by no means indisputable. There

may be no more of literal death, than is incidental to the suppression of the truth. Men are communities ; and all Christian communities were corrupted. That all were corrupted in the Western Empire we well know ; and for the sister Empire, some hundred years at least in existence in the East, let us take the testimony of the historian. “ The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy and exercise of the mental faculties ; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the Patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the Saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks, and worshipped by the people ; and the appellation of *people* might be extended without injustice to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects : under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear ; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy.” (Gib. x. 167).-

If, however, the reader incline to the more literal sense, which I conceive indeed to be always inadmissible, he may chance to find most ample fulfilment. “ Where Pagan Rome, it has been said, has slain her thousands, Papal Rome has slain her tens of thousands. In the Netherlands alone more than 100,000 suffered by

the hand of the executioner in the reign of Charles V. This extraordinary number is attested by Grotius, a man of genius and learning, who preserved his moderation amidst the fury of contending sects ; and who composed the annals of his own age and country, at a time when the invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence, and increased the danger of detection. If we are obliged to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed, that the number of protestants, who were executed in a single province and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire." (Gib. ii. last page).

Before the middle of the ninth century, the idolatries of the beast were legally established, and universally cherished throughout the whole Roman world.

As the prophetic language can seldom be pressed too closely, it may be observed, that during one period of the beast's existence, none in the whole world were able to make war with him : there was almost an universal concurrence and acquiescence in idolatry. Such is implied by the question, " Who is able to make war with him ?" By the same rule he once had no contemporary likeness. " Who is like unto the beast ?" He stood the unrivalled sovereign of the whole Roman earth. Thus is many times pointed out that part of his existence, prior to Charlemagne, when his dominion was over the whole Empire ; and subsequent to the act by which the

Roman senate formally abjured the division, and recognized the Eastern seat of Empire.

Thus far the beast seems to have acted by an independent authority, and without interference. Who is like unto him? The latter part of the chapter will be found to contain the history, not only of one who is contemporary to a great part of his reign, and who obtrudes himself on the exercise of his power, but also of some actual Likeness. Before we proceed, however, to the consideration either of the contemporary and, as it were rival, coadjutor, or to the history of the newly-formed Likeness; we meet with the interposition of a striking denunciation, addressed, as in chap. ii. 7, to the ears of the whole world.

10. “If any one lead into captivity, he goeth *
“into captivity. If any one with the sword
“kill, he must with the sword be killed. Here
“is the patience and faith of the saints.”

Who is this leader into captivity; and who is this slayer with the sword? The answer may respect three several societies; and the two first, though perhaps without standard weight, have the stamp of antiquity in favour of their currency. These shall all be submitted, and placed for examination in as favourable a light as they will bear. The first, the most common and perhaps most obvious answer, declares that this is denounced as a final and yet future judgment against the Empire symbolized by the beast who, in the history immediately preceding, has power over all the

* *ιπαγει*, he goeth *unconsciously*.

earth, and makes war with the saints, and overcomes them. That the denounced captivity, which must take place before his fall at the end of the 1260 days, can be no other than what has been so remarkably fulfilled by the “*Imperium in imperio*,” the subjection of an Empire to the ecclesiastical Empire, whose history follows. That the death, or his being killed by the sword, is the end, which we find prophetically denounced against him in chap. xix. when he is cast into the lake of fire.

To this, although the most plausible system, there are one or two insurmountable objections. It is not the fact, that it is at all signified in the following symbols that the first beast should ever be led into captivity by the second; and, moreover, it is expressly said that he and his coadjutor, the second beast, are cast *alive* into the lake of fire burning with brimstone, so that they should *never die*, but be tormented for ever and ever. This first supposition is plainly therefore inadmissible.

If then the second beast be proposed as the object of the vengeance, the very same answer will suffice, nor will it be necessary to draw any conclusions from what we shall find to be his character. He is *with* the first beast: he is never to be killed; and it does not appear how he is ever led into captivity, except when he is thus thrown into the lake of fire. This cannot, however be *both* death and captivity; and consequently the idea will not answer. These replies are very concise, and the judgment summary; because the proofs seem insurmountable. Could

there be much hesitation, other objections might succour the first. Established acceptation, however, gave them some right to be considered. Let us now proceed with better hope.

The first is a standing observation. A *literal* sense for death and captivity cannot be justifiable in the midst of the figurative language. The figurative captivity must be a *mental subjection*: the figurative killing by the sword must be the *forcible suppression of the character* in which the life consisted. The state of death of the *beast* is the established and legal purity as an Empire, an *enforced* obedience to the pure faith. The captivity of a beast is the arbitrary and unjust temporal restraints, under which the prejudices of superstition are held; or the oppressive subjugation, though not destruction, of the idolatrous character.

A comparison of the words of scripture must often be resorted to for reciprocal illustration; and it might be laid down indeed as an indispensable rule in prophecy that no judgment should be formed upon any verse until all the possibilities of reference be investigated. Had the spirit of this rule been observed, we should not perhaps have hitherto been so dubiously right and wrong. In the present instance there is a decisive reference. Christianity was established under the first seal. *A great sword* was given, not to the mouth, but to *the hand* of the Christian rider on the red horse under the secoud seal; and as Dean Woodhouse seems to have demonstrated, *a yoke* is held by the Christian rider on the black horse

under the third. Did not then these Christian riders kill with the sword? Did not these lead into captivity? Were not these in their turn to be led into captivity, and killed?

If we look forward over three verses only, we shall find another occurrence of the sword. The beast had his death-wound *by a sword*, the sword, as it clearly appears, of the hand; or, in plain terms, the character in which his life consisted was extinguished *by force*, by the force of the unjust, oppressive intolerance of the Christian horsemen of the second and third seals. It will at once be perceived that according to this interpretation, the first captivity of the tenth verse was the mental subjection under which the Pagans were generally held between the latter part of the reign of Constantine and the former of Phocas; while the killing by the sword of the tenth verse was the killing the beast by the wound of the sword, or the extinction of his character by arbitrary force. They that led into captivity, they that killed by the sword, were the orthodox Christians of the fourth to the sixth century, who incited, or at least joined with disgraceful alacrity in the Imperial persecution of the Pagans. Upon these, upon this Christianity, has been poured the vengeance. In their turn, they have been led into captivity by the spiritual Empire of idolatry. They have been killed by the sword; or the extinction of the purity of the faith has been effected before a renewed Paganism, which was apt enough to imitate the intolerant tyranny of those who had been nevertheless comparatively worthy

of the name of Christians. Such moral death was effected, and such moral captivity led, by the beast, who lived both with, and absolutely *in consequence* of his wound of death. Whoever killed by the sword was to be killed by the same. Whoever led into captivity was to be led captive. The devilish engine of persecution was infallibly to recoil upon all those who used it. The Pagan beast first killed and led captive the Christian faith : the Christian Empire in return killed and led captive the Pagan. In return again, the renewed Pagan, in the disguise of Christian, killed and led captive the pure Christian. “It was their own bigotry and intolerance, as on another occasion it has been strongly expressed, which withered their arm when it was strongest, and justly exposed them to the assaults of another bigotry and intolerance, little more violent or odious than their own.” It is fulfilled ; and we have seen it. Pure and strong as we are, purer and stronger as we shall be, the temper of the times seems effectually to preclude the idea of any extension or of any renewal of persecution on our part. We may trust that we have too much wisdom to persecute, too much wisdom thus to kill and lead captive the powers of darkness, whether infidel or idolatrous. With the sword of the mouth, and not the sword of the hand, is to be effected the future ruin of the enemies of God. (See Vol. ii. 312-15.)

As the words under consideration are a plain allusion, so in their fulfilment are they a most lively comment to our Saviour’s solemn warning

in Matt. xxvi. 52. ‘Put up thy sword into its place, for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.’ It seems that our great Instructor ordered the sword to be taken into the garden (*one sword was enough*) for the sole purpose of giving this last striking admonition.

The earnest manner in which this subject is introduced, ‘He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,’ has been justified too well by the event. Never have men been so slow to hear the words of wisdom and moderation as on this trying subject. A lesson is conveyed, which the Christian world have been and are most lamentably slow to learn; and a lesson so important that from the neglect of it has principally arisen that mist of corruption which so long has darkened the purest and strongest light that ever shone. Divisions, or in scriptural language heresies and schisms, are most manifestly *departures* from pure Christianity; but with the spirit of intolerance it is difficult for the spirit of Christianity to subsist at all, it is impossible for it to subsist long. The proofs of such Christian intolerance cannot, alas! be afforded without those remembrances which of all are the most painful and humiliating.

One circumstance has been preserved which seems to cast a distinct light on this interesting subject. Under the reign of Theodosius, after Christianity had enjoyed during more than sixty years the sunshine of Imperial favour, the Christians in Antioch, on a calculation which seems not unfairly made by Gibbon, did not exceed a fifth part of the population. In Origen’s time it

was rare to meet with an Egyptian who was not an idolater. In Rome the Christians certainly were not a tenth ; Gibbon says not a twentieth. There is, however, a fact which speaks loudly. “ Paganism, when Gratian ascended the throne, was still the constitutional religion of the senate, we might almost say the religion of the empire. The hall, or temple, in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory, a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her out-stretched hand. The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess to observe the laws ; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations. The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian. But the Emperor yet spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration : four hundred and twenty-four temples or chapels still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people. The Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the Imperial court, to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate ; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory.” (Gib. v. 295.) Gratian, moreover, was the very

first Emperor who refused both the office and title of the Pontifex Maximus of the Pagans.

Tertullian almost in the beginning of the third century *claims only a tenth*, assuring the persecuting Proconsul of Africa, that if he persisted, he must *decimate Carthage*.

“ According to the irreproachable testimony of Origen (in the middle of the third century) the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and of Rome will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union, seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase, served to render their actual strength more formidable.” (Gib. vol. ii. 371.)

What should be the establishment of a country where three-fourths are Pagan? Is it agreeable to the principles of justice, or of policy, to deprive the greater proportion of their religious course, because the minority have chanced to gain the individuals at the helm. Gibbon’s authority is questioned, and perhaps with reason; but if he exaggerate, he does not invent: Mosheim con-

heim confirms his statement; and although nineteen-twentieths may not have been Pagan, there remains little doubt that such were the majority. Yet let the numbers be what they will, there was a *great* proportion of Pagans; and these were deprived of the inalienable rights of man. The Imperial conduct in the exaltation of the outward form was the utter ruin of the inward spirit of Christianity.

Constantine indeed was awhile tolerant; and declared his intention and desire that all religions should be professed and exercised in his Empire, leaving to each individual the right of choice. So far was the age of the first seal and the white horse. "Constantine, it is true," says the true spirit of intolerance, "did not remain always in this state of *indifference*. He acquired *more extensive views* of the excellence of the Christian religion, and at length employed all *the force of his authority in the abolition of the ancient superstition*. In the latter end of his life he issued out edicts for destroying the heathen temples and prohibiting sacrifices. (Mosh. i. 321-2). All religions but that of Christ were become the objects of his aversion. The Sons of Constantine continued to efface the ancient superstition of the Romans, and other idolatrous nations, and to accelerate the progress of the Christian religion throughout the Empire. This zeal was *no doubt laudable*: its end was excellent; but *in the means used to accomplish there were many things worthy of blame*." (Mosh. i. 328). How persecution and piety struggled in the mind of Mosheim!

We must confess that the conduct of Julian, the Apostate from Christianity, was far more politic as well as far more agreeable to the spirit of Christianity than that of some of his predecessors, and most of his successors, “ who endeavoured,” continues Mosheim, “ though *not all with equal zeal, to root out entirely the Gentile superstitions.* Theodosius the Great exerted himself, in the most vigorous and effectual manner, in the extirpation of the Pagan superstitions throughout all the provinces; and enacted *severe laws and penalties* against such as adhered to them. His sons, Arcadius and Honorius, pursued with zeal, and not without success, the same end; so that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Gentile religions declined apace; and had also no prospect left of recovering their primitive authority and splendor.” (Mosh. i. 333). Perhaps, however, his zeal still fell behind that of St. Chrysostom, who “ that the business of conversion might succeed more effectually, procured a law from the Emperor Arcadius (yet extant) *that the Pagan temples should be destroyed,* so that the whole matter of the Gentile superstition might be abolished. Upon the executing of this law great mutinies were raised, many of the Monks wounded, and some slain; but Chrysostom encouraged them (and bribed them) resolutely to go on *in so good a work!*” (Cave’s Prim. Christ. c. ii. part 3).

Christianity, however, was yet infinitely less tainted; and what can we expect in the sequel, but what we find? It is due, however, to the

honour of our faith to notice with the reluctant Mosheim (ii. 3), that “ this spirit of reformation appeared with less vigour in the Western empire. There the feasts of Saturn and Pan, the combats of the gladiators, and other rites that were instituted in honour of the Pagan deities, were celebrated with the utmost freedom *and impunity*; and persons of the highest rank and authority professed publicly the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. This liberty was, however, from time to time, reduced within narrower limits.”

This is the more remarkable as at this time the spirit of compulsory conversion was flaming in the East, with more than Pagan, Mahometan, or Papal ardour. Theodosius was at this time declaring the use of sacrifices *criminal as well as infamous, high treason against the state, and only to be expiated by death or confiscation*. “ Such was the spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world !” (Gib. xxviii.)

“ They,” continues Mosheim (ii. 196), “ must be very inattentive observers, who do not perceive that *the fear of punishment*, the prospect of honours and advantages, were the prevailing motives that induced the greatest part to renounce the service of their impotent Gods.” Yet, after all that piety and bribery and persecution effected, Mosheim acknowledges, that “ in the greatest part of the Grecian provinces, and even in the capital of the Eastern empire, there were still *multitudes* who preserved a secret attachment to

the Pagan religion. Of these, vast numbers were brought over to Christianity under the reign of Justin, by the ministerial labours of John, bishop of Asia." I wonder whether the piety of this John was, with St. Chrysostom's, of the compelling nature. So true on the whole was it that the governors of the Church were no less diligently employed in imitating the conduct, than in displaying the cruelty of their Pagan adversaries. In the Western Empire there was indeed *some impunity*; and it should be strongly remarked, that in the East where was *no impunity* there has been *no reformation*. They that led most into captivity have themselves more deeply and more incessantly been galled by the chain. "Such were the horrid and abominable practices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age, led the heralds of that divine religion, which was designed to spread abroad charity upon earth, and to render mankind truly and rationally free." Such is the consistency of persecution! The reader may need to be admonished that it is the same Mosheim, who is the inconsistent author of this last sentence. (Mosh. ii. 156.)

"It was towards the close of the seventeenth century before Toleration, under its present form, was admitted first into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual persecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by

the progress of science, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magistrate, were all requisite in order to establish a regulation so repugnant to the ideas which all the different sects had adopted." (Robertson, c. v. book xi.)

As it was the beast that had the wound by the sword, I am spared the painful task of tracing this spirit of persecution further than against the beast. Yet it is too notorious that while the Christians were oppressing the Pagans, they were at the same time exasperating and attacking each other with a virulence, which seldom terminated without more efficacious arms than the ecclesiastical thunders. So truly was this prosperity but 'a little help' to Christianity.

The novelty of the interpretation, and the urgent importance of the lesson, have led me to be rather diffuse on this subject; yet I may demand some credit for not troubling the reader with more extended proofs of the vengeance inflicted by renewed Paganism on the pure worshippers. Many authors have treated the subject at large: it has already been briefly anticipated by the history of the domination of the first beast; and will again immediately occur in the second.

CHAP. XIII.

PART II.

VERSE 11, THE PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN ECCLESIASTICAL EMPIRE, THE TWO DIVISIONS, AND CHARACTER; 12, ITS POWER DERIVED FROM, AND EXERCISED IN THE SUPPORT OF, THE PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN TEMPORAL EMPIRE; 13, ITS INFLUENCE AND PERSECUTION. 14, THE CIRCUMSTANCES RESPECTING THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE INTO EASTERN AND WESTERN, THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER; 15, THE SUBSEQUENT CORRUPTION, AND PERSECUTING PROCEEDINGS OF THE EASTERN DIVISION; AND, 16, 17, THE MYSTIC NUMERAL MARK BORNE BY ALL THE EARTH; 18, THE CALCULATION OF THE NUMBER.

"The savage race
Roam licensed by the shading hour of guilt,
And foul misdeed."

Thomson's Summer.

11. " And I beheld another wild beast coming
" up out of the earth; and he had horns two
" like a lamb; and he spake as a dragon.
12. " And the power of the first beast all *of it* he
" maketh before him; and maketh the earth,
" and them that therein dwell, in order that
" they should worship the beast the first, of
" whom was healed the wound of the death,

13. “ And he maketh signs great and fire in order
“ that from the heaven it might descend upon
“ the earth before the men.”

IN this description there is such a multiplicity of peculiarities, that we can scarcely fail of some decisive interpretation.

Though it be not expressly asserted, the tenor of the whole description leads us to conclude, that the two wild beasts arose about the same time. This second beast must have appeared at, or soon after, the rise of the first beast, about the beginning of the seventh century.

A beast we know to be an idolatrous Empire. The earth of this verse is plainly the same as that of the eighth and twelfth verses, or *the Roman territories, made by him a corrupt earth with all its inhabitants*; for, amusing as is the idea that the beast growing up out of the earth, only stole up (“ tacite et sine strepitu, instar herbarum et stirpium de terra nascentium, succrescentem,” Mede Ad Cap. 13), yet it is not easy to conceive that the prophet intended to amuse us. The first arose from the sea, or from one particular great nation or empire territorial. This second, however, arises upon the whole Roman earth. The power of corruption is working every where, and, if we chuse to insert Mede’s idea, every where arising silently, as a plant groweth up out of the earth. The first beast arose particularly as a tyrannical monster from the great nation which ruled the Empire: the second, from the whole Empire, as if by common and universal consent.

Such an idolatrous Empire did arise about the beginning of the seventh century; and where it arose, remained. It neither came from another place, like Daniel's Grecian Goat, when he ran unto the Persian Ram; nor was it placed upon a foreign throne by another, as was the first beast. This beast coexists with the first beast, is in his presence, exerciseth his power, is his advocate, is linked in closest alliance with him; yet nevertheless preserves, for a long time at least, a distinct independent existence and power.

But Daniel, in his account of the four beasts, shews that no fifth should ever succeed; that the ten-horned beast should be the last idolatrous Empire which should ever have dominion over the saints. How then is it that we find in St. John a fifth, coexisting with the fourth? Here between the prophets is a seeming contradiction; and to widen the difference, indeed, an apparent impossibility; for how within the same limits can two distinct contemporary Empires be each universal? Daniel positively informs us, that at the fall of the fourth there never should succeed a fifth; and we might apprehend that a fourth and fifth universal Empire could not coexist. St. John, however, plainly affirms that they *do* coexist. To reconcile St. John with Daniel, and with common sense, it follows that the nature of these Empires must entirely differ. Now Daniel spake of *temporal* powers; and St. John's last beast was the *temporal* Roman Empire. Therefore this two-horned beast *cannot* be a temporal Empire. But there is no other Empire, except

an *ecclesiastical*. This other beast must therefore be ecclesiastical ; and we know that it is possible for an empire over the mind to coexist with another empire over the body. It only remains then to examine whether St. John did intend to speak of such a *spiritual Empire* ; and as this beast makes great *signs* or *wonders*, and by these deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, and as he is plainly called elsewhere, *the false prophet or preacher*, which wrought miracles before the first beast, these signs do point out a spiritual or ecclesiastical Empire.

The riddle is consequently unravelled. An ecclesiastical universal Empire arose about the given time within the Roman Empire territorial ; and within that Empire has ever since continued. It has coexisted with the proper Roman Empire ; and made its corruptions, and exercised all its power. Linked in the closest alliance, the powers have hitherto been preserved in a surprising manner distinct and independent. The ecclesiastical Empire has even in a literal sense pretended to miraculous powers ; and as a false teacher has done real wonders. It has formed and compelled that idolatry, in which was the life, and that persecution, in which was the power, of the first wild beast. That precisely such an ecclesiastical corrupting Empire has existed, and is existing, within the old Roman Empire, is too obvious. Thus far indeed all commentators, except the Romish, are almost agreed. From this point they begin to differ. I apprehend nevertheless that a rigid investigation will satisfactorily develop the whole plan.

11. "And I beheld another wild beast coming up out of the earth; and he had horns two (horns) like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon."

As horns shew the number of the powers into which the strength of any one Empire is divided, the horns of an ecclesiastical power must of course be ecclesiastical kingdoms, or *churches*. Whimsical indeed is the idea that one horn of the church is the power of binding: the other, of loosing.

The first beast symbolized, as was shewn, the whole Roman Empire without regard to the subsequent division into Eastern and Western; for *all* the world wondered after the beast, and power was given him over *all* kindred, &c. &c., and *all the earth* were to worship him. It follows that our ecclesiastical beast had as wide a *spiritual*, as the first a *temporal* reign. Consequently this beast is more than the Papal domination, which is confined to the West; and in accordance we find that it has two horns, of which, as will appear, the Latin is but one. The Latin or Romish churches cannot compose the whole ecclesiastical beast; because they are not in any degree concerned with the Grecian leopard's likeness, with the paw of the Persian bear, and the mouth of the Babylonian lion, which are attributed qualities to the first beast, *all whose power he maketh or exerciseth*. It will be remarked that the beast, who bears so near a resemblance, and carries the woman in chap. xvii, has *all* the

attributes of this beast, *except the last mentioned*; and he will be found, therefore, as we might easily have suspected, to have no concern, except in the West, and with the Woman of *Papal Rome*.

The Lamb of chap. v. had seven horns, the seven primitive churches of Asia. The horns of that ecclesiastical power were churches. The two horns of this wild beast, *like a lamb*, like the Church of Christ, must be two great Churches, Christian yet corrupt.

If we then enquire, what two great independent divisions have arisen in that pseudo-christian, ecclesiastical domination, which has prevailed over the Roman world, the answer is obvious: There are and long have been two famous distinct bodies, the Eastern and Western, the Greek and Latin Churches, professing and upholding the same corrupt principles. The first has to this day authority undisputed over the whole Eastern division of the Roman Empire; and the last has long tyrannized in the West, under the names of the Romish, Papal, or Latin Church.

Upon this discussion, however, let us proceed with scrupulous care. Let us accurately examine the historical date and circumstances of this division, and at the same time beware, according to the happy expression of Gibbon, lest we 'interpret history by prophecy.'

It may at first be noticed that the *horns* are like a lamb. The expression is peculiar; but what peculiar meaning may be couched under this idiomatic expression (and some there must be) has escaped me. He speaks *as a dragon*. We

have seen that the dragon is the general symbol of Infidelity. This beast, two-horned, has but one mouth; and the corruptions of these churches have directly or indirectly tended to *infidelity*. It has been said that the two horns are the jarring bodies of the secular and regular clergy: to which there needs perhaps no other answer, than that it requires an accurate knowledge of the very refinements of ecclesiastical history to be informed that the secret policy of the Popes has generally been on the maxim '*divide et impera*,' balancing these bodies against each other. If it were even allowed for an instant that a *secret policy* might give a symbolical character as well as an overt and legalized action, yet still would it be scarcely accordant with symbolical correctness that the head should set the two horns at variance, nor possibly that the independent horns should be under the decided and actual government of a head as a head. The ten-horned beast, indeed, from the peculiar circumstances of the Empire and the feudal character, has the ten horns distinct from each other, and from the head or form of government, ten separate kingdoms over distinct territories. These two horns in accordance must also be two grand distinct ecclesiastical kingdoms on separate territories; and not two bodies without either shadow of independence or separate territories, and so intimately blended that there might be difficulty in the determination to which kingdom any individual belongs. How many monks have been made bishops?

This idea of the regular and secular clergy, the best that has hitherto been offered, will, I apprehend, give place without a struggle to the clear plain tale, which I am about to advocate.

We should first trace in history the rise and progress of the famous division of the Christian Church into the two bodies of Latin and Greek, Eastern and Western, under which divisions and names all ecclesiastical historians have treated of the Church General.

The seed of division was early sown. “ Constantine the Great, by removing the seat of the empire, raised up in the Bishop of the new metropolis, a formidable rival to the Roman pontiff, and a bulwark which merited a vigorous opposition to his growing authority. For, as the Emperor, in order to render Constantinople a second Rome, enriched it with all the rights and privileges, honours, and ornaments, of the ancient capital of the world ; so its Bishop, measuring his own dignity and rank by the magnificence of the new city, and its eminence, as the august residence of the Emperor, assumed an equal degree of dignity with the Bishop of Rome, and claimed a superiority over all the rest of the episcopal order. Nor did the Emperors disapprove of these high pretensions, since they considered their own dignity as connected, in a certain measure, with that of the Bishop of their Imperial city. Accordingly, in a council held at Constantinople in the year 381 by the authority of Theodosius the Great, the Bishop of that city against the

consent of the Roman prelate was placed in the first rank after the Bishop of Rome.

“ This promotion excited those deplorable contentions which were carried on, for many ages, with such various success, and concluded, at length, in the entire separation of the Latin and Greek churches.” (Mosh. i. 355-6.)

But the doctrines of the Church were yet ostensibly pure; and as corruption and persecution were not legally established until the year 606, the ecclesiastical ravenous beast had not yet ascended. In the events of that most memorable year we have already beheld the first rise of this spiritual domination; and if we again refer to Mosheim we shall find that although he arose with a single head, the two horns were ready to start. “ The disputes about pre-eminence that had so long subsisted between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople proceeded in this century to such violent lengths, as laid the foundation of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that Bouisace III. engaged Phocas to take from the Bishop of Constantinople the title of œcuménical, or universal bishop, and to confer it upon the Roman pontiff.” (Mosh. ii. 169).

Here we behold *the one head*, we find an universal authority given to the See of Rome. The state of the church, as *a beast and powerful*, at this time, is fairly given by Mosheim. “ It is indeed amazing, that the clergy were still held,

corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration; and were honoured as a sort of deities, by the submissive multitude." (Mosh. ii. 221.)

The authority of the See of Rome continued to increase until, in the eighth century, the horns were fully grown. "While the power and opulence of the Roman Pontiffs were rising to the greatest height, they received a mortifying check. Leo the Isaurian, and his son, Constantine Copronymus, incensed at the zeal which Gregory II. and III. discovered for the worship of images, not only confiscated the treasures and lands which the church of Rome possessed in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia; but, moreover, withdrew the bishops of these countries, and also the various provinces and churches of Illyricum, from the jurisdiction of the Roman See, and subjected them to the spiritual dominion of the Bishop of Constantinople. It is here that we must look for the original source, and the principal cause of that vehement contest between the Roman pontiff and the Bishop of Constantinople." (Mosh. ii. 239.)

"Leo the Isaurian," says Theophanes, Hist. Miscel. book 21, "not only erred with the impious respecting the adoration of the most holy images, but respecting the intercession of the most chaste Mother of God, and all of the Saints whose relics the wretch blasphemed, like his Arabian (viz. Mahometan) masters." Of his son, Constantine, he says, "This man most pernicious, barbarous, savage, &c. apostatized from God, his mother, and the saints, &c. &c." (See Mede, Ad cap. xiii.)

"The restoration of the Western Empire," says Gibbon (xi. 169), "was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. A religious and national animosity still divides the two largest communions of the Christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating her most useful allies and provoking her most dangerous enemies, has precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East."

The two horns, which as Greek and Latin were always distinct, now demonstrated their independence by mutual attacks; and such distinct independence was never subsequently less visible. In the 9th century "the Oriental doctors, involved in the bitterest quarrels with the Western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit of Christianity; and corrupted by the passions that are generally excited and nourished by ill-managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true interests of religion. Intent also, upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the *Latin doctors, &c. &c.*" (Mosh. ii. 318.)

Among the events of this century it may be mentioned, that Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was during his patriarchate anathematized by seven popes, and by four after his death; and these maledictions so completed the alienation of the spirit of the Greek from the Latin Church, that although four councils have been assembled to reconcile them, it has been to no purpose. Pope John XXII. sent the Greeks a letter to invite them to a reunion, to which they returned him this

answer, “Exercise your authority over your own creatures. As for us, we can neither bear your pride, nor satisfy your avarice, &c.” The continuation of this letter may be found cited in Jortin’s Remarks on Ecc. History, A. 861.

In the 10th century, “the controversies between the Greek and Latin churches were carried on with less impetuosity on account of the calamities of the times; yet they were not reduced to silence. The tumults of the times, indeed, produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs.” (Mosh. ii. 425.)

In the 11th century, “the famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which though not decided had been suspended, was revived by the arrogance and ambition of the Roman Pontiff and Grecian Patriarch. Leo IX. assembled a council at Rome in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated.” Again, “The Roman legates with the highest insolence anathematized in Constantinople itself, in the very church of St. Sophia, the Grecian Patriarch with Leo Aeridanus, and all his adherents; and leaving a written act of their solemn execrations upon the grand altar, they shook the dust off from their feet, and departed. The Grecian Patriarch imitated their vehemence, and excommunicated them all. Nor did the Grecian and Roman Pontiffs contend with more fury and bitterness, than

the Greek and Latin churches upon still more trifling objects." (Mosh. iii.)

In the 12th century, "the contest between the Greeks and Latins was carried on with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence." (Mosh. iii. 100.)

In the 13th, "the grand controversy between the Greek and Latin churches was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual." (Mosh. iii. 256.)

During the 14th century, "there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation. For the Greeks, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, in A. D. 1339, and 1349, embassies to desire a reconciliation were sent into the West. In 1367, the Grecian Patriarch himself visited Rome; and was followed in the year 1369, by the emperor, John Palaeologus, who, in order to conciliate the good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman Pontiff. But notwithstanding these prudent measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several, from sinister views, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations." (Mosh. iii. 368.)

As to the 15th century, “ we have already, says Mosheim (iii. 456), taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and Latin churches. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, Nicholas V. exhorted and entreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after this last letter, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman Pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian Patriarchs still the more obstinate and intractable. Nor is this so difficult to be accounted for. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins, which acquired from day to day new degrees of bitterness and aversion, nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been easily removed, if the Western princes and the Roman Pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly when the Greeks deplore these calamities, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.”

We have entered sufficiently upon the history of this division : one extract more, and we have done. “ Nothing can be more rooted and invi-

cible than the aversion the Greeks discover to the Latin or Romish church : an aversion which neither promises nor threatenings, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, temper, or diminish ; and which has continued inflexible and unrelenting amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman Pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries to gain over this people to their communion and jurisdiction."

"As one Patriarch (Cyrillus of Berea) declared himself openly in favour of the Latins, the reconciliation seemed almost certain ; but his dismal fate dispelled at once the pleasing hopes and the anxious fears with which Rome and its adversaries beheld the approach of this important event. The same violent death that had concluded the days of Cyrilus Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer of the doctrine and ambitious pretensions of Rome, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period, the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church, no favourable opportunity being offered either of deposing or gaining its patriarchs." (Mosh. v. 245—250.)

We are all too well acquainted with the character of the Latin Church ; but it may be right to exhibit the Greek. "That society of Christians that lives in religious communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople, is, properly speaking, the *Greek*, though it assume likewise the title of the *Eastern Church*. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one ac-

knowledges the supremacy of the Bishop of Constantinople; while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts: and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers who are independent on all foreign authority. That part of the Greek Church which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of Patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common Father. But the supreme chief of the whole church is the Patriarch of Constantinople. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, though that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or especial order." (Mosh. iv. 244.)

The right of confirming the Patriarch's election rests in the Turkish Emperor; and he is esteemed the best qualified, who surpasses his competitors in the extent of the bribe. The power of the Patriarch is immense: he calls councils by his own authority, administers justice, and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his own communion, by the express permission of the Emperor. "His influence is maintained on the one hand by the authority of the Turkish mo-

narch, and on the other by his right of excommunicating. This right gives the patriarchs a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils.

“ The Holy Scriptures, and the decrees of the first seven General Councils, are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is, however, a maxim that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of scripture, or the decisions of these councils ; and that the Patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. Accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme; and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety.

“ Nothing more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the Greeks, since their subjection to the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, has been extinguished among them. This ignorance has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dis honour their leaders.

“ Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greater part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they

are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine and obeying the precepts of the religion they profess." (Mosh. iv. 249—254.)

"The Greek church continued during the 17th century in the same deplorable state, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting useful knowledge. This account is, however, to be considered as a general view; for there are undoubtedly several who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition and profligacy."

"Of the present state we can say but little. The profound ignorance and the despotic yoke under which they groan, prevent any plans to extend their limits, or any attempts to change their state. The Russians assumed, under the reign of Peter the Great, a less savage aspect than before that memorable period; and in this century have given some grounds to hope, that they may one day be reckoned among the civilized nations. There are, nevertheless, immense multitudes still attached to the brutish superstitions of their ancestors. The *Greek* Christians are said, however, to be treated at present by their haughty masters with more clemency and indulgence than in former times." (Mosh. vi. 17.)

As I have drawn largely upon Mosheim, I would bring testimony to his worth. "In the successive centuries," says Gibbon, "from the ixth to the xviiith, Mosheim traces the schism of the Greeks with learning, clearness, and impartiality."

The whole may be summed up by a quotation from Dr. Faber. “The present state of the Greek church is most deplorable. I have been favoured with the following account of it by a gentleman who has resided in Turkey. From all that I saw and heard, it would be impossible to believe that any superstition could be more corrupt than the Greek religion is at present. There was no appearance whatever of any reformation; nor did I ever understand that there was the least symptom of willingness to unite with the Church of Rome. On the contrary, there was evidently a most inveterate and rancorous hatred between the two churches; and this existed to such a degree, that each of them was far more favourably inclined to the Protestant Church than they were to one another. The gross ignorance and the licentious lives of most of the ministers of the Greek religion must for the present destroy the hope of any reformation; and the ignorance, at least, must continue, while men, the most illiterate and wholly uneducated, are admitted into holy orders. The brother of one of my Greek scullery-men was an ordained priest; and I was told that he was as much without education as the scullery-man himself. I must own that the knowledge I had of the professors of the Greek religion, and all that I ever heard of the Russians in particular, has long since led me to doubt whether that can be the quarter from which we ought to expect any successful opposition to the Roman Catholic superstition.” (Rest. i. 207, note.)

Since the formation of my ideas, and the compilation of the preceding pages, I have been gratified by falling in with the glosses of Dr. Waterland upon this subject. In these I find a concise, though strong confirmation of my uninfluenced opinions. “*Ver. 1. A beast, Roman Empire Christian, civil power. 2. Another beast, Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. Two horns, two ecclesiastical monarchies.*” I had not suspected the originality of my ideas; but originality is so doubtful a merit, that I rejoice to sacrifice it even for a countenance so partial and imperfect.

Such are the two horns of the ecclesiastical beast. The horns, like a lamb, have thus been shewn to have the voice of a dragon, of persecuting, ignorant, infidel Paganism. Ecclesiastical history, regarding the first sixteen centuries, is such a sad series of crimes and calamities, that perhaps it should never be read without the concurrent study of prophecy. So should we gain and enjoy a calm and unshaken reliance upon that Providence which

“ From seeming evil still educes good
“ And better thence again, and better still
“ In infinite progression.”

12. “ And the power of the first beast all *of it*
“ he maketh before him; and maketh the
“ earth, and them which therein dwell, in
“ order that they should worship the beast
“ the first, of whom was healed the wound
“ of the death.”

The life of a beast is his *will* to oppose the truth: the dominion, his *power* of opposition. Daniel speaks concerning the rest of the beasts, that their dominion was taken away, though their lives were prolonged, implying, perhaps, the existence of corruption without the power of persecution or general enforcement. Thus the power of the first beast is his power of persecution; and it is this his power, even in the strongest sense, which has been exercised by the ecclesiastical or second beast in the presence and by the allowance of the first. It has been said that the Ecclesiastical domination never assumed the temporal power of punishment; but delivered over its victims to the temporal courts. This is a vague assertion, if it be not indeed a mere quibble; for how many tens of thousands have perished by the private tortures of the inquisitorial power? Bp. Newton calculates that in less than thirty years, the Inquisition destroyed by *various kinds of tortures* 150,000 Christians. As the *only public* torture was the stake, it must be conceived that a large proportion of these martyrs expired under the *private* tortures, which are only imputable to that *ecclesiastical* beast, who thus usurped the very abuse of the power of the civil magistracy. Perfectly aware as I am of the maxim of the Church, "*Ecclesia non novit sanguinem*," I remember also the ingenuity of the ecclesiastical device in condemning heretics to *the flames*, that so excellent a maxim should not be publicly violated!

Thus, I conceive, has the figurative power of opposition been construed in the strongest sense

which can possibly be admitted, and which is inclusive of all lower degrees. If any, however, would stretch the idea still farther, they may take it in the words of Bp. Newton and Dr. Faber. "He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him: Cardinals, Prelates, and Monks, were long the prime ministers of the European Sovereigns; and the names of Wolsey, Ximenes, Richlieu, and Mazarine, were handed down to posterity as the most intriguing and ambitious of statesmen. The second beast indeed is properly an ecclesiastical person; but he intermixeth himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser, and mover of the first beast. He holdeth *imperium in imperio*; an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal authority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate." (Faber ii. 314.)

It was shewn that it is the ecclesiastical power who has caused the earth, and all that dwell therein, to be devoted to the characterizing corruptions of the temporal Empire; in that he healed the beast's wound of death, and supported by various means his vital idolatrous character.

13. "And he maketh signs great and fire in order
"that from the heaven it might descend upon
"the earth before the men."

Fire is the symbol of war, and the consequent afflictions ; and the *literal* heaven, from which the fire is drawn down, the symbol of the existing system of religion ; and the men are the corrupt inhabitants of the *newly* corrupted Roman earth. This ecclesiastical power is thus an instigator of religious warfare among all the corrupted people of the Roman Empire. How many strictly religious wars in the Roman Empire have been created by the influence of the false preacher? Not to mention the crusades in which fell the flower of the strength of Europe, what part of the Roman Empire has not been in turn the bloody stage of infuriated religious warfare? He doeth perhaps all his wondrous acts *in order that* having established his authority he may create religious wars upon those who rebel against his impious edicts.

From the very origin of this symbol, it is clear that the fire must be a devouring fire. Elijah called down fire from heaven ; and when the disciples intreated our Lord, ‘ Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?’ he rebuked them, and said, ‘ Ye know not of what spirit ye are of.’ This beast has not the spirit of Christ ; and when he called down fire from heaven, he called it down to *destroy life*. This conclusion is enforced by the origin of the symbol ; and this destruction of life must be the suppression of the pure faith. The wonders which enable him to do this, we shall immediately consider.

14. “And deceiveth them dwelling on the earth
“ by the signs which it was given unto him
“ to make before the beast.”

The signs which have here been usually rendered *miracles* are translated from the same original word which in the foregoing verse was with some propriety translated *wonders*, but which are still more properly *signs*. “This word,” says Parkhurst, “only signifies what is *unusual*: it is used for any ordinary sign, even where there is nothing miraculous.” This invention or exhibition of signs so great may be the magnifying himself above every God, claiming the divine attribute of infallibility, sitting in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. These high claims are the practices by which he so mightily prevails. We must not follow the stream, and take these wondrous acts in the literal sense of miracles, or a claim to miracles; although, embracing that system, it might perhaps be illustrated. A few lines may be submitted, that the reader may have the privilege of an easy choice.

The beast, however he may have affected *miracles*, did nothing but wonders; and these pretences to miracles are not as the fire of war *in the sight of men in general*, but only in the sight of those men whose union composes the symbolical *beast*, that is to say, only in the sight of such as are beforehand devoted to his idolatrous principles, and by no means where the miracles are requisite for the conversion of reputed heretics, as in the Protestant countries. These claims to

miracles are thus, it has been said, the very brand of the false church. The religious wars have indeed, on the other hand, been in *the sight of men, of all men.* We are now to consider the present motive for these signs or miracles.

- “Saying to them dwelling on the earth, to
“make a Likeness to the wild beast, which
“has the wound of the sword, and did live.
15. “And it was given unto him to give life to
“the Likeness of the Beast; in order that
“there should both speak the Likeness of the
“Beast, and make that as many as would not
“worship the Likeness of the Beast should
“be slain.”

We have now to search for the antitype of the Beast's Likeness; and the preface may enquire whether it be not to the last degree improbable that St. John should regard only *the Western* temporal and spiritual dominations, both of which, according to Dr. Faber, were rivalled by the Eastern; and the former long exceeded. Surely had there fortunately been any Protestants in the Eastern churches, they would, with as much reason, have contrived such an explanation of the two beasts, as altogether to have excluded from any share in the prophecy the *Western* Church and Empire. In this spirit have all our Western commentators neglected to see the Eastern church in one of the horns of the ecclesiastical beast; and in the temporal beast's Image or Likeness to see the GRÆCO-ROMAN EMPIRE.

The word which our translators have rendered *Image* does almost invariably throughout the New and Old Testament bear the sense, not of an *Image*, but of a *Likeness*. Man is made in the likeness of God, after the likeness of him that created him, conformed to the likeness of his Son, bearing the likeness of the heavenly man. The sense of *image*, as it has been understood in our apocalyptic version, is quite irreconcilable with these sentences; and we must ascertain the signification of the *Beast's Likeness*.

I find that Mr. Mede, Bp. Newton, Sir I. Newton, and almost all commentators, have formed the same not incorrect idea that this Image was to be some power, which should be ‘a sort of representation or effigy of the wounded imperial head of the secular beast.’ Mr. Mede indeed found so strong a likeness between the beast and his image, that he expressly and unreservedly maintains their absolute identity; a doctrine apparently strange, yet, as I conceive, drawn from him by the irresistible force of evidence; while he was nevertheless unable with any fairness to reconcile it to his system. Others have simply found in the Roman Empire ‘a perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient Roman Emperors.’ Having here met, they separate;

“All may be lost, though each in his own way!”

The Beast to whom the Likeness is made is the corrupted secular Roman Empire, under either the imperial sixth or imperial seventh head,

that Empire which *has* the death-wound by the sword, and yet lives ; which in other words was dead, and at the same time alive ; was, and is not, and yet is. It is the secular Roman Empire, nominally Christian, as *a beast* dead, and is not ; yet substantially idolatrous and Pagan, as a beast, alive and is.

What must be the living, speaking, persecuting Likeness of a Beast with these peculiar marks ? We answer that the Likeness must be a temporal Empire, bearing strong features of resemblance to the Roman Empire : it must be an Empire under an Imperial head, nominally Christian, really idolatrous ; and with a character and power of persecution altogether independent of the archetypal wild beast, the proper Roman Empire.

How now with all the licentiousness of fancy could any one have imagined this Likeness either ‘in the Pope,’ or ‘the Inquisition,’ or ‘the Papal authority and empire actually established by the monastic orders,’ or in ‘an assembled body and council of men like the beast in point of religion’ ? Surely every unprejudiced mind must have hastened to that plain conclusion which a more enlarged consideration will abundantly confirm, that the Likeness of the Beast symbolizes the Eastern, or *Græco-Roman Empire*.

A bold question may now be asked. Presuming that St. John had wished to give the history of the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as the Western (a presumption, really very allowable, though our Western commentators have been given to monopoly), under what symbol except the

Likeness of the Beast could he possibly have represented it? He could not as *a horn*, either in symbolical propriety, or in unison with Daniel, whose symbol he uses. *Propriety* forbids; for no stretch of symbolical language could have permitted the representation of the most mighty Eastern Roman Empire under the symbol of a horn of an Empire, rather inferior than superior. *Daniel* forbids; for, foreseeing that the Western would outlive, though it do not eclipse, the Eastern Empire, he gave the former the title of *the Beast*, and shewing it with the *ten peculiar Gothic horns*, St. John was not at liberty to make them eleven.

Neither could he have represented the Eastern Empire as *a head*; because the tenor of his prophecy led him to use the head as the form of government; and the Roman Empire having seven such forms, had seven heads, under the sixth of which St. John declares that he lived, or saw the vision. Neither could the Eastern Empire have been represented as *a beast*; because St. John was under an obligation to preserve accordance with Daniel, whose beast was *one*, the Roman Empire from first to last, and who with an implied reservation for ecclesiastical powers, had declared that no fifth beast, no other power in actual and direct opposition to the truth, should ever exist. As therefore the Eastern Empire could not possibly be either *a horn*, or *a head*, or another proper Roman beast, or a proper beast at all, how could it have been represented otherwise than as *the Likeness of the Beast?* Or rather, that we

may not outrun our argument, how could the Western and Eastern Empires have been symbolized, except the one were made the actual Beast of Daniel, and the other 'the Likeness of the Beast?'

Our enquiry should now turn upon this point: On the division of the Roman Empire into the two Empires, Eastern and Western, to which was due the superior title of *the Beast*; and to which *the Likeness of the Beast*?

In preservation of the borrowed symbol, *that* division must be the Beast, which has the ten horns, and the little horn of Daniel, before which were plucked up by the roots three of the ten horns. These ten horns have been uncontestedly demonstrated to be the ten Gothic nations, three of which fell before the temporal sovereignty of the See of Rome. By a most remarkable, and we might almost say a providential, peculiarity, *all these kingdoms* were established within the *Western division*.

That division, moreover, should be *the Beast*, which territorially possessed the ancient seat of Empire, as administered under the first six heads or forms of government, which possessed the more extensive territory properly Roman, the more peculiar name of Roman, and the most unbroken bestial duration. *The Western Empire* is still manifestly the Beast.

That division, again, must be the Beast of Daniel, which survives the other division. If then the Eastern Empire should be considered as yet standing under the Turks, it is plainly, however,

threatened, in the tenth verse of chap. xvi, with destruction prior to the fall of the Western Empire, because the fall of *the Beast* follows in the sequel. It was again necessary to make the survivor, *the Beast*; because the duration of corruption in the renewed state of bestiality was exactly to synchronize with the power of the little horn, which was to endure until the end of the 1260 days.

It appears, therefore, that although the Western Empire arose so much after the Eastern, that it might almost be considered as a great revolt from the Eastern; and although the real power of the feudal Western Emperor has never been great over the body of the beast, it would have been impossible to have represented the Græco-Roman Empire, as *the Empire, the Beast*.

Had then St. John intended to have represented both the Eastern and Western Empires, he must have styled them the Beast and his Likeness. The former title, moreover, was due of right to the West: the latter to the East.

Now the beast, as represented in the second verse, which regards him before the division of the Empire, is *like a leopard*. The Likeness of the Beast must, therefore, also bear a resemblance to the Leopard, or must be the Likeness of the Leopard, or *Grecian Empire*. I need not observe that the Græco-Roman Empire has borne such a resemblance to the Greek Empire, from its situation and language, that it has absolutely been termed the Greek Empire by others, though the Greeks rejected the appellation with disdain.

As therefore every probability has hitherto concurred to point out the Eastern or Greek Empire as the Image or Likeness, let us examine how it can be said that the *ecclesiastical power* first commanded them that dwelt on the earth to make a Likeness to the beast; and afterwards gave life to the Likeness, in order that the Likeness might both speak, and tyranize, and put to death those who would not be *devoted* to his bestial principles.

A single line from the historian of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire will, I conceive, develop the intention of the Prophecy. He terms the coronation of Charlemagne "*the great event of the translation, or restoration of the Empire.*" Thus does the prophet, with the historian, look upon the rise of the Empire in the West under Charlemagne to be but the *translation*, or restoration of the Empire. The *beast* absolutely moves from East to West; he actually *leaves* the East, and settles in the West; and a Likeness of the Beast is made in the East. In tracing the succession of events, we shall see another most weighty reason for placing *the Beast* rather in the West than the East. It is necessary, however, to enter upon the ecclesiastical history of these times.

"In the year 726 the Emperor, Leo the third, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East. The martial peasant was inspired with a hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. His

first steps were moderate and cautious ; he assembled a great council of senators and bishops ; and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition of the people.

" By a second edict, he proscribed the existence as well as the use of religious pictures ; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry ; the images were demolished. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six Emperors ; and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo, the Isaurian, to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council ; but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine. The decrees of many provincial synods introduced the summons of the council which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops. After a serious deliberation of six months, they subscribed an unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical ; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a renewal of Paganism ; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased, and that those who should refuse to deliver up the objects of their private superstition were guilty of dis-

obedience to the authority of the Church and of the Emperor." Although Constantine by this step lost his throne for a time, yet after much bloodshed, "with the habit and profession of monks, the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed ; and it should seem that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire. The patient East abjured her sacred images ; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians." (Gib. ix. 124—131.)

Precisely at this juncture, when by the united edicts of an Eastern council, and the Head of Empire, by the spiritual arms of the one, and the temporal triumphs of the other, the Empire seemed to be on the point of losing, or rather to have lost its bestial life, or idolatrous character, at this critical period the Empire was translated to the West, or in prophetic language, the Beast, who was once more wounded and expiring in the East, and who was nevertheless destined to live an unbroken term of 1260 years, was, for the fulfilment of the prophecy, rising up to life and dominion in the West.

I shall be brief in the account of the obstinate adherence of the Western Church and Empire to their corruptions : it is a subject which wants little further notoriety. But Charles Martel may be pointed out as the first obscure origin of the Western Empire. "The decrees of the Senate and the people had successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of

Patrician of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but *the reign of the Greek Emperors was suspended, and in the vacancy of the Empire* they derived a more glorious commission from the Pope and the Republic. The Frank was not long content with vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed, between *the conquest of Lombardy* and the Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the Popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of Emperor could add to the Patrician of Rome."

But at length, "On the festival of Christmas, the last year in the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter; and after the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, *Emperor of the Romans*. The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction: after the example of the Cæsars he was saluted or adored by the pontiff: his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and

privileges of the church ; and the first fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle." (Gib. ix. 154—174.)

The title of Patrician, however, even before the destruction of the Lombards, and during the vacancy of Empire, conveying to great Potentates the complete authority over Rome, was a revival of a Western Empire ; and it is obvious, that after that time, it conveyed precisely the same power to Charlemagne, as that of Emperor, and that Charlemagne in the year 774 was as much the head of the Empire, or representative of the head of the Beast, as he was in his *Imperial* dignity six and twenty years afterwards. Until the year 787 the worship of images was legally suppressed in the Eastern Empire ; and the final re-establishment, which is afterwards to be considered, did not take place until the middle of the ninth century. If Gibbon then could be supposed to speak incorrectly or loosely when he terms the coronation of Charlemagne *the translation of the Empire*, and speaks of *the vacancy of the Empire*, yet most assuredly St. John's *beast with the bestial character*, who was to have an unbroken existence of 1260 days, had ceased to exist at all in the East. Yet he must have existed somewhere at that time : he had left the East, which had hitherto been the seat of the whole Empire ; and the Western division had become established in the character and title of *the Beast*.

As for Charlemagne, says Gibbon, (ix. 180), "the dignity of his person, the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his go-

vernment, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe marks a new era from his *Restoration of the Western Empire*. That empire was not unworthy of its *title*; and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary.

"If we trace the outlines of the geographical picture, it will be seen that the Empire of the Franks extended, between East and West, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula, between the North and South, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin; and after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power and virtue of the Carlovingian Monarch; implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him their common Parent, *the sole and supreme Emperor of the West*. Two thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne; and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany." (Gib. ix. 180—185.)

Our attention should now, after the translation of the Empire to the West, be turned towards the

Beast's Likeness: first, to the time it was made, and by whom; secondly, to the time it had life given to it, and the power of speaking and acting.

The Likeness of the beast is first made by the men at the instigation of the two-horned beast; and at some indefinite time after the making is there life given by the two-horned beast, in order that it might speak and act in opposition to the truth. The life of a beast is his corrupt character; and his dominion the *power* of enforcing such corruption, or devouring the truth. Here, therefore, it is declared that the Likeness of the beast must exist some unspecified time without the bestial will or power to raven. This Empire, which is like the Roman Empire, and like the Greek Empire, is at the first assumption of the character of the Likeness to be neither idolatrous nor persecuting. It is almost superfluous to point out the exact accordance of the event. Until thirteen years after the translation of the Empire into the Western, Patricio-imperial government, the worship of images was *totally* suppressed in the Eastern Empire, and was not properly re-established for nearly seventy years, A. D. 842. It is of more consequence to shew, how it was the Ecclesiastical power, which caused this *translation* of the Empire into the West; because, as upon that translation the Likeness of the visible *body* of the Empire remained in the East, *the translation* of the Empire from East to West is identified with the figurative formation of the Likeness. The Beast who had long fixed his throne or metropolis in the East, when he was moved to

the West, *left a Likeness* without the idolatrous life, *pure* and uncorrupt, although on the Beast's and Dragon's ancient throne. The Likeness was then made, when it ceased to be the substance. If then the Ecclesiastical power be shewn the prime mover of the translation of the Empire, the Ecclesiastical power is shewn to have made the Image or Likeness of the Beast.

Two original epistles, from Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo are still extant; and they exhibit the portrait of the founder of the Papal monarchy. " You accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments: the first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at your head. The eyes of the nations are fixed on *our humility*; and they revere, as a God upon earth, the apostle of St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy. The remote and interior kingdoms of the West present their homage to Christ and his vicegerent; and we now prepare to visit one of the most powerful monarchs, who desires to receive from our hands the sacrament of baptism. The Barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the Shepherd. These *pious Barbarians* are kindled into rage: they thirst to avenge the persecution of the East. Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; reflect,

tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest : may it fall on your own head!" (Gib. ix.)

"Without depending on prayers or miracles, Gregory boldly armed ; and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty. At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion : the military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives ; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the Pope and the holy images : the Roman people was devoted to their father ; and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The issue of the struggle was the final ruin of the Emperor's affairs in Italy and the complete triumph of the Catholic idolatry.

"Amidst the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman Pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts ; and with their consent pronounced a general excommunication against all, who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints." (Gib. ix. 134—138. Fab. ii. 330, 331.)

Thus in the defence of the worship of images was the Western Empire formally separated from the Eastern Head : the first stone of the Western Imperial Edifice was laid by the Roman Pontiff ; and the reader is already informed of the

manner in which the superstructure was raised by the same ecclesiastical agency. The Patriate of Charles Martel and the final Imperial coronation of Charlemagne by the Roman Poutiff will not be forgotten. Thus by ecclesiastical agency the beast was transported to the West; and thus that Likeness made or left, which had yet neither breath nor dominion, neither the will, nor the power to raven. It is not unworthy of remark that Cardinal Baronius speaks of the coronation of Charlemagne in language which marks not only the translation of the Empire, but the ecclesiastical agent. “*Quod autem ejusmodi translatio imperii ab Oriente in Occidentem, ubi posthac semper stetit et hactenus perseverat, di- vino consilio facta fuerit magno reipublicæ Christianæ emolumento, et imperii Orientalis desolatio et alia eventa satis superque demonstrârunt.* Nec vero id potuisse convenientius fieri quam per Romanum Pontificem, totius Christianæ religionis antistitem — nec decentius quam in Carolum magnum — nec denique opportuniori tempore quam cum jacerent *absque possessore jura Orientalis Imperii*, et periculum immineret *ne caderent in schismaticos principes a fide catholica extorres* — nemo æquus rerum estimator non affirmabit totum id Dei opus fuisse, ejusque mirabili consilio sapientissimè dispositum.” (Fab. ii. 248.)

With Baronius we cordially agree. “The translation of the Empire from East to West is shewn to have been providential (for the fulfilment of the prophecy) by the desolation of the Eastern Empire: it could not have been done

more correctly (for the fulfilment of the prophecy) than by the Priesthood; nor more properly than upon Charlemagne; nor more opportunely, than when the rights of the Eastern Empire lay *without a possessor*, and there was most *imminent danger* that they should fall to princes schismatical (in the eye of Rome): what fair observer will not affirm (*with Baronius*) that this was disposed by the wonderful Providence of God?"

We may add that "the partizans of the Roman pontiffs generally maintain, that Leo III. by a divine right, vested in him as bishop of Rome, transported the Western Empire from the Greeks to the Franks, and conferred it upon Charlemagne, the monarch of the latter. From hence they concluded, that the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, is the supreme Lord of the whole earth, and in a particular manner of the Roman Empire. (Mosh, ii. 236.)

That the Empire of Charlemagne was ever formally recognized by the Eastern Empire is perhaps a point of no great importance; yet we may observe that "the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to the East by the alteration of his style, and instead of saluting his *fathers* the Greek Emperors, he presumed to adopt the more equal and familiar appellation of brother. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between *the two Empires*, and the limits of the East and West were defined by the right of present possession."

We are now arrived at the consideration of the second part; and it must be shewn that the same

corrupt ecclesiastical agency, which caused *the men* to make the Image, gave life to it. This, from its regard to religion, or the character, was indeed the peculiar privilege of the ecclesiastical beast: the life of the Likeness of the beast must of course intend corruption. “As soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work; the Iconoclasts appeared not as judges, but criminals or penitents; *the scene was decorated by the legates of Pope Adrian and the Eastern Patriarch.* The decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images is agreeable to scripture, and reason, to the fathers, and councils of the church!” (Gib. ix. 164.)

But for nearly half a century the contest was maintained with unabated rage and various success between the worshippers and breakers of images; and “the final victory of the images was

achieved by a second female, Theodora. Her measures were bold and decisive. The sentence of the Iconoclast Patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes : the bishops trembled : the monks shouted ; and *the Festival of Orthodoxy* preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images." (Gib. ix. 167.)

Thus was given the life to the Likeness of the Beast. The legates of Pope Adrian and the Eastern Patriarch graced the scene ; and thus *the whole beast* perfected the work he had began.

Though, however, the ecclesiastical power gave life unto the Likeness, after causing it to be made, he does no more. He has but little influence with the Likeness, who speaks and acts for himself. He does not exercise all the power of the Likeness before him, as he does the power of the Beast. The Eastern Patriarchs and Clergy were never able to make many strides towards a temporal dominion : they have not either claimed or exercised authority over the temporal powers ; but on the other hand have been always at their nod. The episcopal conscience, said Gibbon, was again '*after the Greek fashion* in the hands of the Prince.' The Likeness speaks, acts, persecutes for itself. It causes for itself as many as would not be devoted to its corruptions to be killed ; or after some struggles suppresses entirely the pure worship. Nothing upon the whole can be more plain than that neither the first nor second beast have any concern either for or against the worship which the Likeness exacted for itself.

The exact duration of the Likeness is unspecified; and it may, therefore, be a superfluous curiosity to enquire whether it be still in existence. If it have fallen, it fell of course at the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in the year 1453; but it may fairly be considered, as even now standing. The Turco-Roman Empire which upholds for gain the corrupt worship of the second beast, and whose peculiar faith is at least as corrupt, may now be the Likeness. “It would betray,” says Mosheim, “a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of *the Turks*, to imagine, that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of Mahomet.

“The appellation of *Roumelia*, which is still bestowed by the Turks on the extensive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, preserves the memory of their ancient state under the Roman Empire. Notwithstanding the change of masters and of religion, the new city of Rome, founded by Constantine on the banks of the Bosphorus, has ever since remained the capital of a great Monarchy. The provinces of Asia, without excepting the transient conquests of Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish power.” (Mosh. iv. 158. Gib. i. 37.) As to Egypt, the iron sceptre of the Mamalukes is now in the hands of a Turkish pasha; and Crete, Cyprus, and almost all the smaller islands of Greece and Asia own the power of those Euphratean horsemen, who endure until the era of the sixth.

vial. This idea is perhaps confirmed by the second verse of the sixteenth chapter; where the vial is poured out on the worshippers of the Likeness as well as on the worshippers of the Beast. That Likeness is consequently, even by name, in existence at the era of the first vial.

Before we dismiss this curious subject, it may not be without effect to trace the Image through all his appearances, with the view of ascertaining upon this interpretation the propriety or impropriety of its introduction. We have now the first appearance; and are satisfied, as I will presume, with the fulfilment. Again, we hear of it for an instant in the voice of the third angel of chap. xiv. who warns both the worshippers of the Beast and of his Likeness. This again leads us to the conclusion that the Græco-Roman Empire, under the Turkish rulers, is still the Likeness of the Beast; although the denunciation may become, as will be shewn in its place, more peculiarly appropriate. Though the language of the Prophecy may not absolutely demand that the slaves of the Beast's Likeness should have *heard* this warning voice, yet it appears that they did hear, although without obedience.

"The history of the Greek and Eastern Christians," says Mosheim, who was nearer than we are, "would no doubt furnish us with a variety of entertaining and useful records; but the events that happen, and the transactions that are carried on in these distant regions, are very rarely transmitted genuine and uncorrupted." (Mosh. v. 244). If this complaint be in general well-founded, so

is it more especially in the enquiry of the progress made in those countries by the doctrines of the Western Reformation. We know, however, upon the whole, that the zeal of the Western Christians at the time of our Reformation was not unemployed so near home as in the Greek Church. “The Lutherans presented,” says Mosheim (iv. 251), “a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches. Melancthon first sent to the patriarch of Constantinople a copy of the confession of Augsburg, translated into Greek, with a letter, in which the learned and humane Professor represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed; for the patriarch did not even deign to send him an answer!

“After this, the divines of Tübingen renewed the correspondence with his successor, Jeremiah. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years, to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the confession of Augsburg, together with a Compend of Theology, composed by Heerbrand, and translated into Greek by Martin Crusius; nor did they leave unemployed any means, which a well-conducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain this prelate. The fruits, however, of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality, but at the same time in terms which

shewed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants." Cyrillus Lucar, indeed, Patriarch of the East, in the 17th century, demonstrated that the voice of warning had been heard in the East, by an open declaration that he had "a strong propensity to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and had conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel." But this inclination for reform finally cost him his life in the year 1638. "The Confession of Faith, drawn up by Cyrilus Lucar, was published in Holland in the year 1645; and is also inserted by Aymon, in his *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. By this confession, it appears evidently, that Cyrilus had a stronger inclination towards the doctrine of the Reformed churches, than to that which is commonly received among the Greeks. Nor was he by any means ill-affected towards the Lutherans, since he addressed several letters to the Swedish clergy about this time, and solicited their friendship. Aymon has published, in the work already mentioned, twenty-seven letters of this Patriarch to the clergy of Geneva, and to the Doctors of the Reformed church, in which his religious sentiments are still more plainly discovered."

This warning was actually indeed observed by some of the alliances and connections of the two-horned beast. The partial Reformation which took place in Russia, may of course be traced

up to the grand source. "Peter I. made indeed no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have the doctrine explained in a manner conformable to the dictates of right reason, and the spirit of the Gospel; and he used the most effectual methods to destroy, on the one hand, the influence of that hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation; and, on the other, to dispel the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people, which would have surpassed it, had that been possible.

"To accelerate the execution of this plan, Peter I. became a zealous patron of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite a desire of emerging from ignorance and brutality, and a taste for the useful arts. And, to crown all, he extinguished the spirit of persecution, abolished the penal laws against those that differed in religious opinion from the established church, and granted to Christians of all denominations liberty of conscience, and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies and institutions.

"It is proper also to notice in this place the zeal discovered by the Lutherans, in their attempts to dispel the ignorance and superstition of the Abyss.

sinians. It was with this pious design that the learned Heyling, of Lubec, undertook a voyage into Ethiopia in the year 1634, where he resided many years, and was honoured with the high and most important office of prime minister of that mighty Empire. In this eminent station he gave many instances of his zeal, both for the interests of religion and the public good. Several years after this, Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Gotha, surnamed the Pious, formed the resolution of making a new attempt to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, in its purity, among these ignorant and superstitious Abyssinians. This design was formed by the councils and suggestions of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of Abbot Gregory, an Abyssinian, who had resided for some time in Europe. The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck in the year 1657, did not totally discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose: for in the year 1663 he entrusted the same commission with a native of Erfurt." (Mosh. v. 255—260.)

The Greek Church, however, as a whole, still continued involved in deplorable ignorance and corruption; and are threatened subjects of the future judgment. In chap. xvi. accordingly, the commission of the angels of the vials extends over the whole earth, or Roman Empire; and the first is specified as falling in part upon those who *worshipped the Likeness*. If the idea be correct that the Turkish may properly be termed the *Turco-Roman Empire*, and that this Empire, under the

Turkish Imperial head, is still the Beast's Likeness, that Likeness, as it will be found, is doomed to fall under the sixth vial, when the Euphratean waters are dried up.

No mention of the Beast's Likeness occurs either in the xviiith or xviiiith chapters. These are the history of the Church of Rome, of the woman of the seven mountains riding on that beast which has no specified resemblance to the leopard bear or lion, of the Papal power connected with the Western Empire. Any mention of the Eastern Empire would here, therefore, have been manifestly extraneous, and would have invalidated the interpretation which the absence confirms. In the overthrow of the corrupt power the Likeness does not occur, because under his eighth or last head was the beast to lose his fated littleness, or the Eastern and Western Empires to be re-united into one. The Likeness, whose time was undetermined, is lost; or in fact, the Beast had either himself thrown down his Likeness and become the *whole* beast, or some other power had thrown down this Turkish Likeness; for such an event must be intended by the prior exhaustion of the Euphratean waters. As, however, the false prophet is introduced for vengeance, as the whole second beast, who by one horn had deceived the subjects of the Beast, and by the other, those of his Likeness, here is a very cordial co-operation of the *Eastern and Western* Churches, at the battle of the great day of God Almighty. Such co-operation, however, can hardly take place, while the Eastern Church re-

mains under the Mahometan hand ; and this confirms the interpretation of the exhaustion of the Euphratean waters, in the downfall of the Turkish power. Again, such a co-operation would with infinitely greater ease be effected, were the Eastern and Western temporal Empires under one head. The probability is, therefore, that in this drying up of the Euphratean flood, the Beast himself will destroy his Likeness, and the head of the Western Empire become the uncontrolled sovereign, perhaps ecclesiastical as well as secular, of the Roman world.

16. “ And he maketh all, the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, and the free and the bond, in order that they * should give to them a mark in their hand, the right, 17. or on their † forehead. And in order that no man might be able to buy or sell, save he having the mark, the name of the beast, 18. or the number of his name. Here the wisdom is. Let him that hath understanding calculate the number of the beast : the number indeed of a man is it ; and his number six hundred threescore and six.”

As the discoverers of this name must be endued with special qualifications, the question immediately occurs, Who can have this wisdom;

* *ια δωρον*, that *they* should give the mark, viz. the Beast and his Likeness.

† *επι της κεφαλης* (gen.) *η επι τη μετωπη*, (acc.)—Griesbach.

and who are these men of understanding? for as all others are indirectly precluded from success, we may be wasting our attention upon a mystery to us inscrutable. Now as the language of this prophecy is never literal, it is obvious in this case that the requisite qualities are moral wisdom and religious understanding: the fear of the Lord, that is *the* wisdom, and to depart from evil is *the* understanding. (Job xxviii. 28). It hence appears that the mystery, absolutely inscrutable to the corrupt inhabitants of the Roman Earth, is open to those who have separated themselves, and have thus the requisite moral and religious science. Here too we may conceive an allusion, at the very least, to Daniel's men of understanding (xi. 33 and 35), either to the first set, which have been demonstrated the Primitive, or the second, the Protestant Christians. But it cannot allude to the first, who existed in the beginning of the Christian dispensation, because Daniel declared, "his words sealed until the time of the end," both against wise and unwise; and the clear and correct comprehension of St. John would involve the unsealing of Daniel. It must, therefore, allude to the second set of men of understanding, the pure Protestant Christians, and particularly to those who are now living at *the time of the end* of the 1260 days; and every individual, therefore, of the present day who is wisely and unconsciously a seceder from Rome, or at least every such *Church*, collectively considered, is invited to the investigation, "Let us calculate the number of the Beast."

In the literal sense there have indeed been men of no weak understanding, who have been blinded by the corruptions of their faith. Such men of understanding have notoriously failed altogether to develop the import of this mystery. The development is indeed from its very nature, as is plainly implied by St. John, absolutely impossible to any but the Protestant, the man of moral and religious understanding; inasmuch as it will be shewn that the admission of the proper interpretation would instantly convert. “The modes in which the Romanists have computed this number,” says Dr. Faber, “are sufficiently whimsical. Feuardentius discovers it in the word Maometis, for so he thinks proper to spell the name of Mohammed*. He likewise finds it in Martin Lauter, which he says was the original way of spelling Luther’s name. This last idea is considerably enlarged by Lindanus and Bellarmine. Martin Lauter produces the number in Saxon; David Chitœus and Beza Antiœas in Greek; and John Calvin in Hebrew. They refrain, however, very judiciously from specifying the seven heads and ten horns either of Mohammed, Luther, Chitœus, Beza, or Calvin.” It is clear, therefore, that so far from being guilty of presumption, England above all nations is invited with an implied promise of success; and, moreover, she is to discover for herself without much regard to the conjectures of any of the first set of men of understanding.

* It is, however, so written by the Greek historians, Zonaras and Cedrenus, ‘Maometis or Moametis.’

It was customary for servants to receive the mark of their master, soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, the mark of that deity. These marks were usually impressed on their right hands or foreheads, and consisted, according to the fancy of the imposer, either of hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters or disguised in numerical *.

The Zabii and others burned marks in their bodies, in devotion to their particular deities : Lucian tells us that the Assyrians bore these printed characters, some on their wrists and others on the neck ; and Herodotus, that the votaries of Hercules received the sacred marks. Philo says, that there were men who printed characters upon their flesh, to devote themselves more solemnly to their idols ; and something of this kind was *early found, and still prevails*, among the Eastern Christians, who mark themselves with a cross, especially such as go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The tattooing and the marks of so many barbarous nations may have the same religious character. (See Dodd's Bible under Lev. xix. 28.) In Gal. vi. 17. St. Paul, with this allusion to his master, calls the scars he received from stripes, chains, &c. in the service of Christ, the *marks* of the Lord Jesus (comp. 2 Cor. xi. 23, &c.) These practices indeed were in ancient times in more wide and common use than we imagine. It was customary to burn or otherwise

* See Parkhurst under *χαραγμα* and *τιγμα*.

to imprint upon their hands not only the names, but the representations of the very walls and forts of cities. “Behold,” says the Deity, with this allusion, in Is. xlix. 16, “I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands: thy walls are continually before me.”

The seals of the Jews were, generally if not universally, without other engravings than inscriptions. Hence 2 Tim. ii. 19. The well known custom of disguising names in the number of their numerical letters may be exemplified, among a crowd of instances, by the name of Thowth, the Egyptian Mercury in the number 1218*. Jupiter, as the beginning of all things, was expressed by the number 717, the sum of the expressed numbers †, 8, 1, 100, 600, and 8. The idea was so familiar at the commencement of the Christian era, that Barnabas, Paul’s companion, discovers the name of *Jesus crucified* in the number 318. i and h, the two first letters, were put for the name, and τ for the cross, 10, 8, and 300.

Now these *slaves* of the beast, these votaries of the God of the earth, receive his name in a number upon their hands or forehead.

There can be little doubt that the name belongs not to the second beast, but rather to the *first, seven headed and ten horned*, the temporal Roman Empire, to him who is always eminently styled, *The beast*, the superior, who at first has none

* θ = 9, ς = 800, ν = 400, ι = 9, Θεωθ = 1218.

† Η Αρχη.

like him, and who alone is worshipped at the instigation of the second beast. In the next chapter we find that they have no rest who worship *the Beast* or *his Likeness* and whosoever receiveth the mark of *his name*; and in the sixteenth another as express a declaration, for a sore falls upon them which had the *mark* of the beast, and upon them which worshipped *this same Beast's Likeness*. The Beast who had the Likeness was the first Beast; and his therefore, in part at least, is the mark.

The mark is not distinct from the name or number of the beast*. It is the mark 666, which is that number of the beast, containing his name, which is expressly called, both in xiv. 11, and in xvi. 2, *the mark of his name*. The contrary opinion has all its slight foundation upon the enumeration in the seventeenth verse, according to the double errors of the received text and received translation, that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Hence some have supposed that *the mark* is the cross; but *the number* 666. This, however, is not only a departure from the well-known custom of the mark, but will be shewn altogether unjustifiable. The advocate for two ideas in this verse should, moreover, explain why there should not be three; and why the name and the number of the name should not be as distinct as the mark and the two foregoing.

* *Character Bestie non est proprius nisi Nominis.* Mede
Ad Cap. xii.

Now this mark is elsewhere expressly said to be *the mark of his name*; and nothing must induce a departure from this plain declaration. It might therefore, if the common Greek text be preferred to Griesbach's adopted emendation, be proper to propose a translation slightly varied of the part of the seventeenth verse: “No man shall buy or sell, save he having the mark, (*which is*) *either* the name of the beast, or the number of his name.”

This very slight variation (from a corrupt text however) gives a natural, allowable, and necessary meaning, and which, while it banishes every notion of the mark in the cross, or in any thing except in the 666, adds a very remarkable distinction between the name of the beast and the number of his name. There is conveyed an enigmatical information, that it might be possible to have the same number as the beast's name, without having it *as the name of the beast*, that again it might be possible to have the same mark as the name of the beast, without having it in the other sense yet undetermined. Mede seemed not far from this idea when, in an opposition to other parts of his interpretation for which he could not account, he hints that “reverâ non tam *Nominis Bestiae* quam *Bestiae* ipsius numerus est, quomodo etiam statim vocatur.” To prevent a possibility of cavil, I have thus chosen to argue upon the received text, since it is capable of that same sense which is decidedly and incontrovertibly gained by Griesbach's authoritative expulsion of the first copulative *either*. This correction of the passage was followed in the submitted text.

The 666, therefore, is the mark with a double purport. In the immediate sequel we find that 666, *the beast's number*, is also *the number of a man*. Such must be the second purport. A man is a community, either pure or impure, according to the circumstances; whereas the wild beast, always a ravenous beast of prey, must be impure. Thus the mark, being appropriate both to the beast and community, may be borne without a slavish devotion to the beast. We, accordingly, find in the succeeding chapters that vengeance is *never* denounced or executed against them that have *simply* the number or mark, but invariably against such as have *the beast's* mark, the specification of *the beast* in this case being *never* omitted.

“If any man worship the beast and his image, and (in consequence of that worship) receives the mark, the same, &c.”

“They have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosever receiveth the mark of *his name*.”

“And there fell a noisome sore upon them which had the mark of *the beast*.”

Now unless the mark was such as could be borne without being properly the mark of *the beast*, it would have been altogether expletive to have called it the mark of *his name* and the mark of *the beast*. *The mark* would have conveyed all the idea; and the *Apocalypse* knows no expletive. But the most peculiar instance is to be found in the original of xv. 2, from which indeed the translation only varies by one of those Italic intrusions, never to be too much guarded against.

We there read of some who had gotten the victory over the Beast, *and* over his Likeness, *and* over *his mark, the number of his name.* Hence it not only appears, as was before remarked, that the number and nothing but the number is *the mark*; but from the specification of the number *of his name*, we directly gather that the mark must have *two significations.* There are no expletives, no amplifications in prophecy: and how, in accordance with the extreme condensation of the prophetical style, could there have been added to the mark, the unmeaning superfluity of *the number* of the beast's name? The very use of this explanation of the mark demonstrates an evident necessity to *limit* this mark to *one meaning* alone, exclusive of the two or more which might be contained within it:

But the numerical letters of different languages vary; and in what one language, then, are we to find the component numerical letters? Doubtless in the language in which is proposed the enigma.

The Egyptian Mercury was signified by the mystic number of his name, 1218, marked upon his votary. So it is this worshipped beast's own name, which is *one of the meanings* of the 666. Now the beast had upon his heads *the name of blasphemy.* This name, however, does not contain the number; and if it had, where were the enigma? But what has been shewn to be the mystic blasphemy but *apostasy?* The Greek Apostate*, a deserter, revolter, or rebel, has

* $\alpha = 1, \pi = 80, \circ = 70, \tau = 6, \alpha = 1, \tau = 300, \eta = 6, \varsigma = 200.$ *Aποστατης* = 666.

been found to contain the precise number 666. "Nothing," says Bp. Newton, "is apostasy, if idolatry be not." Apostate is the *bestial* name, indispensable to his *bestial* existence; and the name, moreover, of his Likeness: and most merited is the denounced judgment and consequent destruction, by them who receive on their foreheads as worshippers, the name which the beast wore on his forehead,—by the *apostates* from the true faith,—by every nation found *apostatizing* from the truth as it is in the mystic Jesus. It need not again be shewn how the ecclesiastical power *made* the beast this *apostate*, and caused all to receive the mark, as his worshippers.

Thus then has arrived *the apostasy*, or the falling away, twice predicted *under that very term* by the Apostle St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3. and 1 Tim. iv. i. "There shall come an *apostasy*," "some shall *apostatize*," and, Heb. iii. 12. "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in *apostatizing* from the living God."

But the Likeness, having once received its corrupt life, was as much an apostate as the Beast; and why then is it peculiarly *the Beast's name*? But where is it said or implied that it is peculiarly the beast's name? The direct contrary conclusion must be drawn from Griesbach's judicious restoration of the original text, which implies that *they* give the mark. Now unless the mark were as applicable to the Beast the Likeness as to the proper Beast, this plural number, which can only be attributed to the Likeness with the Beast, is altogether inexplicable. Why should the

Likeness have joined in enforcing the name of one with whom he has evidently no connection? It is the *bestial name* indeed, but not peculiarly the name of the ten-horned beast.

The riddle, however, is but half solved; for although the symbolically bond, poor, and small, in both Eastern and Western Empires, might wear this name of *apostate*, yet it is incompatible with the privileges of the great, the rich, and the free, who also bear this mystic *number*. The demanded double sense now comes to our aid. We require the name of *the community* which contains the 666, a community of importance enough for the prophet's notice, an ancient community which had then its Greek name, as had few of the present divisions of Europe, a permanent community, and above all, one that comprises *all* who are not apostates, *all* the scripturally free, rich, and great, who appear on the stage of the prophecy.

These qualifications indispensably requisite expel all national, and much more all personal ideas; while turning our attention upon the grand divisions of the part of the world within the scope of the prophecy, we perceive that neither Europe nor Roman nor Greek will give us the number, nor were these names imposed upon a part of the world by the ecclesiastical power.

Now were the bestial character withdrawn from the beast, *the beast* would become a simple community properly symbolized by *a man*, a thousand *names of men*, or a great *third* or *fourth of men*; and the symbolized community would

thus casually change its * gender. Let us, therefore, according to the proper orthography of the proper language of the text, make the experiment upon the peculiar name of the Western Empire, the Lateinos; for Lateinos with the *ei* is the manner in which the Greeks wrote the long *i* of the Latins; and as indeed, though it be of little consequence, it was anciently written by the Latins themselves. † Here we shall find that we gain the exact, ‡ the fatal number, in an ancient name, of a very extensive and permanent community, and of every man in it; in a name as will be shewn imposed by the ecclesiastical beast; a name so appropriate, that it would be the very name of the ten-horned beast, were it by symbolical death to become *a mere community*; a name to bear which is guiltless, and which indeed is to this day borne by the purest of the European kingdoms.

Among the reasons which might have induced the disguise of the name, one is obvious. It might neither have been safe, nor by any means desirable, to have at once denounced the Roman Empire, as the ravenous beast. Irenæus, who was almost St. John's contemporary, and who was the disciple of Polycarp, St. John's disciple, does nevertheless cautiously suggest what we could

* It would become the Λατίνος ἡμών, instead of the Λατίνος Εγρηγόρος.

† So Egnius, lib. vi. 26. Bp. Newton's Diss. ii. 299.

Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,

Horundem me libertatei parcere certum est.

‡ $\Lambda = 30$, $\alpha = 1$, $\tau = 300$, $\epsilon = 5$, $\iota = 10$, $r = 50$, $\sigma = 70$,
 $\omega = 200$. Λατίνος = 666.

scarcely have failed to discover, that the word *Lateinos* contains the exact 666. A mere suggestion from such authority might, however, be allowed to have sufficient weight and importance to have decided a doubtful question.

How then was this name imposed by the ecclesiastical agency; for that it is thus indirectly imposed is obvious, from the expression, ‘he maketh all, the small and the great, &c. &c. in order that they should give to them a mark.’ The expression, indeed, is so peculiar, that I am persuaded it will eventually be found to involve *more*; yet this it *does* clearly involve.

How the ecclesiastical power, by the property of giving the corrupt life to the Beast and the Likeness, conferred the universal title of Apostate, is sufficiently obvious; but the *Latin* remains for consideration. The beast, until the division of the Empire, was usually termed Roman, although the name of Latin was not forgotten. But when by the ecclesiastical agency the Likeness was set up, then was transferred the seat of Empire. The Western division became the representative of the ten-horned beast: the name of *Latin* was revived. Thus the power which divided the Empire is immediately represented as imposing the mark of *Lateinos*. He had already caused a general devotion to the first beast; but he does not give this mark until he sets up the Likeness. The fulfilment could not have been more accurate.

The Western Empire, in which the beast now exists, can have no name but that of the Latin Empire. “Such, accordingly, is the general appellation which the inhabitants of the West

bear in the Eastern parts of the world, the particular names of Spaniards, French, and Italians, are swallowed up in the common title of Latins. Hence Mr. Gibbon, in his account of the crusades, terms with strict propriety the people of the Western empire *Latins*; and gives us, under this name, the history of the five *Latin* Emperors of Constantinople. Hence also, though the Papists are wont absurdly to style themselves Roman Catholics (fulfilling, however, as was shewn, the peculiar prophecy of the woman clothed with the Sun), the real name of their community, as contradistinguished from the Greek, the Armenian, or the Abyssinian Church, is certainly the *Latin* church. Thus Thevenot, in his account of Mount Sinai, speaks of two churches, one for the *Greeks*, and the other for the *Latins*; and thus Ricaut, throughout his State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, discriminates the Romanist from all other professors of Christianity by the appellation of *Latins*.” (Fab. ii. 346.)

By the agency of the ecclesiastical power the very language of its name has been diffused over all Europe. The Latin for centuries was the universal language of science as well as of religion; and in religion indeed the *only* language. “The Papists,” according to Dr. Henry More’s expression, cited by Dr. Faber, “*latinize* in every thing. Mass prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. Nor is the Scripture read in any other language, under Popery, than Latin. Wherefore

the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version; nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short, all things are Latin, the Pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the *mark and character of his Empire.*"

Thus was the name in each sense given; and thus, moreover, after the division or translation ecclesiastically effected after the favourite Roman name was lost and the two bodies began to be termed the Latin and Greek divisions, the name of Latin has still been kept alive by the ecclesiastical agency, since the schism between the Eastern and Western, the Greek and Latin churches, has perpetuated the division.

Thus then has the two-horned ecclesiastical power caused all, pure and impure, to receive the mark *x̄r*, the pure as peculiarly *Latin*, the impure peculiarly as *Apostate*, both which words by a most singular coincidence contain the mystic number. So many jarring circumstances have agreed, that the interpretation may almost be deemed stedfast as the prophecy!

There are minor points, however, which require further elucidation. The mark upon the right hand and the forehead may perhaps be elucidated by Deut. vi. 6—8. "These words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand; and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes." Here we have both the forehead and the hand in

a poetical amplification; but concise as is the prophetical style, some distinction must exist with St. John between the *right hand* and the *foreheads of them*. Some peculiarity must appertain to the hand, and some to the foreheads: something possibly intended by the hand *the right*: possibly an undiscovered import in the singular *hand* and the plural *foreheads*, which however disappears in Griesbach's text; and probably some latent singularity in the genitive of the hand, and the accusative of the forehead.

I hope to see some elucidation of these points. the symbol *the hand* alludes to soldiers, (*Stigmata vocant* — qualia sunt *militum* in manibus. *Ætius*, l. viii. 12.): *the forehead* to the servants, who were severally marked in the hand or forehead. The best idea which I can propose in the antitype is, that in the forehead is the public and avowed slavery in the corrupted faith, and in the right hand the actual conformity to its maxims and active defence of its principles.

We have yet omitted one puzzling declaration: that the mark was in order that no man should be able to buy or sell, save he having the mark in one of its senses, save he who was either a *Latin* or an *apostate*. This buying and selling must symbolize *religious trafficking*. No literal idea may intrude. The corrupt Eastern and Western ecclesiastical power gave to all the name either of *Latin* or *idolater*, in order that none without one of these names should have even the name of the religion of Christ. First, there is to be no purity in all the Roman earth; next, no reformation ex-

cept among the *Latins*. The Christian religion within this Roman Empire, wheresoever not Apostate, is to be *Latin*: wheresoever not Latin, is to be and continue *Apostate*. Such is the prophecy; for in prophetical language the professed intention implies the actual effect. There has not been any amendment, direct or indirect, in the Eastern or Greek division of the Roman Empire; although in every way, direct and indirect, a most conspicuous Reformation in the Latin. It need not be pointed out that the *Apostate's* name was borne without the name of the community before the translation of the beast to the Western provinces.

Upon leaving the mystic mark, I shall only state the circumstances which first led me to think for myself. The *Latin* name has hitherto been the favourite; although the probable correctness of Mr. Wrangham's *Apostate* has been admitted by Dr. Faber. Having already demonstrated that *Apostate* cannot stand without the *Latin*, I shall shew why it first appeared to me that the *Latin* could not stand without the *Apostate*. It has been fairly argued, from the severe denunciation in the fourteenth chapter against those who worshipped the beast, that it is impossible to suppose this worship can be a conscientious submission to the legal sovereignty of the Roman Empire, that it must be devotion to the corrupt prin-

* Bestiam adorare (quo sensu hic dicitur) non magis impium fuisset, quam cuivis alii protestati mundanæ morem gerere. (Mede.)

ciples of the Empire. Now on the very same foundation it is to be denied that *Latin* can be the guilt-giving mark of the beast's name; for where the crime to have been born within the Latin division of the Empire?

It was not until these pages were in the press, that I *particularly* noticed in Mede the annexed striking opposition, yet coincidence of ideas. “Unde illud fortè consideratione non indiguum erit: licet nemo potest *Nominis Bestiani* characterem accipere seu ejus potestati subditus esse, quin simil quoque *numerum* ejus accipero, hoc est impietati communicare, necesse habuerit, posse tamen fieri ut quis numerum seu impietatem *Bestie* admittat, characterem verò, seu *Nomen* respuat.” Mede is clearly perplexed; and perplexed has hitherto been every commentator. The *Apostate* has at last been happily suggested; and when coupled with the ancient suggestion of *Latin*, all is clear.

It struck me, moreover, that the *masculine Lateinos* could not possibly be the name of the *neutral beast*, whereas on an alteration to *Lateinon* the number is utterly lost. This should have surely occurred to Dr. Faber, when he cites to reprobate the opinion respecting the Hebrew Romiith or the Roman beast in the *feminine* gender. Many other words in which is found the number I pass over in merited silence; but as the Romiith is mentioned, it may be remarked as a coincidence of unexampled singularity, if nothing more, that it should contain the precise 666, in the Hebrew feminine. As other Hebrew words are

used in the Apocalypse, this may be more than casual. Perhaps no words in any other languages could be found to contain the same sense, and same number.

The great points illustrated are these. The first ravenous wild beast is the old Roman or Latin Empire, composed of parts of other Empires; whose bestial character was revived by the spirit of Infidelity in the seventh century, and whose throne, first given in Pagan Greece, was afterwards translated to Vienna. The Beast, the Likeness of the beast, the Image of him, was long, perhaps is even still, existing in the *Eastern* division of the Roman Empire. The translation of the first, and the formation of the second are effected by the agency of the second beast, the ecclesiastical idolatrous Empire, whose two contemporary horns are the Eastern and Western, the Greek and Latin, churches. All under the united temporal and spiritual dominations receive, in consequence of the proceedings of the ecclesiastical beast, that mark, which implies either a Latin or an Apostate, or both. The men of understanding, who are encouraged to the enquiry, are the Protestant members of the Church of Christ.

The whole chapter precludes the idea that the little book has an exclusive reference to the Western Church. It is the history of *the Reformation*, and every head contains *the Reformation*. The beasts are necessarily introduced, as in this chapter, to shew the sin and danger from which the succeeding angels call the worshippers. With these summons we immediately proceed in the next chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

1—5, THE VIRGIN CHURCH IN THE MIDST OF BABYLON;
6—7 THE LUTHERAN CHURCH; 8, THE CALVINISTIC;
9—19, THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; 13, THE PURE CHUR-
CHES IN GENERAL; 14, ENGLAND; 15, 16, THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; 17, THE JEWS,
IN 18, CALLING UPON ENGLAND; 19, THE IMMEDIATE
CONSEQUENCES; 20, THE FINAL TRIUMPH IN JUDEA
OVER THE CORRUPT EMPIRE AND CORRUPT CHURCH.

"At his second bidding, Darkness fled,
Light shone, and order from disorder sprung."

Par. Last, i.

IN the midst, however, of this gloomy and appalling scene, while the prophet beheld the two wild beasts ravening with absolute domination, while he beheld the whole Roman earth of a fertile country become a wilderness, while perhaps in the despairing spirit of Elijah he was lamenting the supposed utter extinction of all that was pure and lovely and of good report, that the covenant of God was forsaken, his altars thrown down, and all his prophets slain with the sword, in the midst of all this, he looked and, behold, a Lamb stood on the "Mount Sion." In Elijah's time there were seven thousand; but now not only seven, but a hundred and forty-four thousand who had neither received the mark on their right hand and their foreheads, nor had bowed the knee to the new

Baal ; and these not hidden in the vale of obscurity, but standing openly on the Mount Sion, with the name of their God written on their foreheads.

Such is the connection of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, which together compose one of the three chronologically parallel divisions of the Little Book. This arrangement has already been justified. It is founded primarily upon the observation that in this chapter there is no mention of the great period of the 1260 days, as in the first division began and completed in the eleventh, and the second began and completed in the twelfth chapter ; which omission alone may teach that the present chapter and subject is but a continuation of the history of the beasts, beginning at that point of time, when there first started up these opposers of their tyranny and corruption. The chapters are indeed connected by their very manner, as shewn above; and particularly by the legitimate expression of surprise, conveyed in the connective ‘ Lo.’ Had this chapter began a peculiar subject, there would scarcely have been room for such a mental emotion. The thirteenth chapter, moreover, did we consider it as one of *four* distinct and parallel heads, would, as it leaves the beast in the full blaze of prosperous tyranny, differ most essentially from the other three, which conclude the same events at the same time with the figurative rejoicing for the wrath which goes forth against their opposers. Thus does the prophecy require the arrangement, which the interpretation will be found to countenance.

1. "And I looked, and, lo, the Lamb standing
"on the Mount Sion, and with him an hun-
"dred and forty-four thousand, having his
"name and the name of his Father written *
"upon their foreheads."

We have already had occasion to touch, though very briefly, upon the hundred and forty-four thousand; and the present passage will suggest a few further observations. The ecclesiastical beast had two horns *like a Lamb*; but here is *the real Lamb of God*. No longer, however, with his seven horns and seven eyes; since the age of the seven churches is long past: he is now with the hundred and forty-four thousand worshippers, denoting in an unrestricted sense the Church general. During the domination of the beasts, or for some indefinite time, this Lamb and his company seem to have been standing upon the Mount Sion witnessing; but they had not hitherto been observed by the prophet, whose attention was naturally engrossed by the two beasts.

On a sudden he expresses surprise: Lo, he saw a Lamb and his company *having stood* on the Mount Sion! As the literal Jerusalem was on the literal Mount Sion, so we must conceive that the mystic Mount Sion must always support the mystic church; and consequently the hundred and forty-four thousand coincide with the symbol of the city. Now the mystic holy

* It appears that his name and the name of his Father are *one* from the *singular* number of the participle *written*. It is Griesbach's corrected text, by which *the Lamb's* name is added.

city is trodden under foot by the Gentiles during the whole 1260 days. Therefore this company who bow the knee to no Baal are in a state of depression: they coexist with the idolatrous domination during the 1260 days; and are the saints of the eighth verse of the last chapter, whose names are written in the book of life of the Lamb, hitherto always slain. However different then at first sight, they coincide with the witnesses of the eleventh chapter, who during the 1260 days prophesy in sackcloth. To that part I refer for the full exposition of the idea that the symbolical hundred and forty-four thousand typify the company of the pure worshippers, some of whom have been raised up in the darkest ages. “The 12 into 12, in allusion, it has been said, to the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles, and again into 1000, in order to describe the faithful as constituting an exceeding great multitude.” “This,” says Mede, “is that Society, which (when the times foretold of the Church’s Eclipse came, and the great Apostasy had overspread the face thereof) was indeed much impaired, endangered, and obscured, but never was totally extinguished, but continued even under the jurisdiction of the Man of sin. As a few living embers in a heap of dying ashes; as a little wheat in a field overgrown with weeds; as the lights of the heaven in a firmament overcast with clouds; as a little pure gold in a great mass of dross and mixed metal; such was the faithful company of Christ in the Apostate body of Christendom, the *Virgin Church* in the midst of Ba-

bylon." Great, as sounds the mystic number, they are but a small part of the professed people of God. The great body have given themselves up to spiritual fornication. All the twelve tribes, as tribes, are corrupted; all the twelve stars adorn the crown of an Adulteress; but in every tribe does there, nevertheless, remain the full representative of many thousands, sealed for distinction from the slaves of the Beasts.

These are the same as those of chap. vii. who were sealed upon their foreheads with the seal of the Living God, and have *now* therefore the name of the Lamb and the Father of the Lamb, the Church general, written on their foreheads.

So close a connection exists between these visions, and indeed between these and Ezek. ix. 2, that they must be joined to have a complete view of either; and we must refer to the manner of sealing in the East, where they seal with ink, and not with wax.

D'Arvieux informs us that "the Arabs of the desert, when they want a favour of their Emir, get his secretary to write an order agreeable to their desire, as if the favour was granted: this they carry to the prince, who, after having read it, *sets his seal to it with ink*, if he grant it; if not, he returns the petitioner his paper torn, and dismisses him. These papers are without date, and have only the Emir's *flourish or cypher* at the bottom." Two things thus appear. The one, that the Arab seals have no figure engraven on them, but a simple inscription, formed with some art, into a kind of cypher; and the other, that when they seal they do not make an impres-

sion on wax, but stamp letters of ink on the paper. The modern inhabitants of Egypt appear to make use of ink in their sealing, as well as the Arabs of the desert, who may be supposed not to have such conveniences as those that live in such a place as Egypt; for Dr. Pococke says, that they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked when they have occasion to seal with it.

St. John saw an angel with the seal of the living God, and therewith multitudes were sealed in their foreheads; but to understand what sort of a mark was made there, we must have recourse to the *ink-horn* of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel saw a person with a *ink-horn*, who was *to mark* the servants of God on their foreheads. That the ink was to be applied with a seal, is in the one case plainly supposed; and in the *Apocalypse*, the mention of seal made it needless to take any notice of the indispensable accompaniment of the *ink-horn*.

Again, the Arab seals have no figures upon them, only an inscription; and it is to be thought that those of the Jews were in like manner without any images, since they were as scrupulous as the Mohammedans can be; and from hence it will appear, that it was extremely natural for St. Paul to make a seal and an inscription equivalent terms, in 2 Tim. ii. 19: *The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal,* this inscription, “the Lord knoweth those that are his;” and “let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.” (Harmer iv. 389, &c.)

The whole is a lively comment upon the mark of the name of the beast, as well as upon this intended opposition of the name of God written on the foreheads of the faithful servants. Here being marked in the *forehead* and not in the *hand*, they may not be at present so peculiarly the *soldiers* of Jesus Christ, as the *servants*.

2. “And I heard a voice from the heaven, as a
“voice of waters many, and as a voice of a
“thunder loud; and the voice which I heard
“as of harpers, harping with their harps.”

It has been remarked that even the rhythm of the original of the latter part of this verse is strongly and beautifully expressive, both of the number of the harpers and of the continuance of their music. The scene of these harpings is laid in the invisible heaven, before the throne of God and the mystical assemblage, composing the Church general triumphant. “Out of the throne,” as described in the fourth chapter, to which there is a continual reference, “proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices;” but at present St. John is upon earth: he does not see the lightnings, but he hears the voice of a thunder loud, with the harpings of the four and twenty elders who in V. 8. had every one of them harps, and the voices responsive to the harps, and the voices of the hundred and forty-four thousand who join in the song. It should be strictly observed, that the original word for *harpers* contains the *וּמָ* or song of the next verse, implying, “one who sings to the

harp on which he plays." It may be suspected that the voice of the waters or kingdoms many, and the voice of the loud thunder, heard at this peculiar time, immediately before the appearance of the angels in mid-heaven, and sweet, as it were of the heavenly harpings, must be the loud voice of the great cloud, the proceedings of the whole Roman Empire preparatory to the Reformation. In this voice the type will nearly coincide with the great earthquake of the eleventh chapter, which shaking the whole corrupted city threw down the tenth of it,

3. "And they sing, * as it were, a song new
 "before the throne, and before the four Living
 "Ones and the elders: and no one was able to
 "learn the song except the hundred and forty
 "four thousand."†.

There has been a strange idea that it was the hundred and forty and four thousand who sung while the harpers played; although it be quite adverse to the spirit and even letter of the description; and the very word for the *harper* implies, as

* Griesbach has doubts of the *as it were*. Woodhouse retains it in the text.

† The *αἱ ἡγεμονιῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*, the redeemed from the earth, should rather be disjoined from the present verse, and annexed to the succeeding. The thousands, *αἱ χιλιάδες*, are in the present case in the feminine; the epithet *redeemed* in the masculine gender; and when this is connected with the observation, that in the first verse, the epithet *εχθρῶν οὐρανοῦ* is in the feminine, and in proper concord with the thousands, it should seem that the emendation must be approved.

was said, the accompaniment of the voice. The mystic company, moreover, are on the Mount Sion while the song is sung before the throne which is set in heaven : they are also plainly not perfect in the song but only learning it ; and it is intimated that this very learning of it was the highest privilege which they could enjoy. But if we be correct in the idea that the voice as a loud thunder, and as a voice of many waters, symbolized the Reformation, how could the 144,000, who have been construed as the mystic number of the Church general triumphant, be said to be only *learning* this song ? The observation of this peculiarity would alone without the formal consideration of chap. vii. lead to a distrust of the common interpretation. In our consideration of the twelve stars upon the woman's crown, the twelve kingdoms appeared, the twelve tribes of the Christian Church. Now in the seventh chapter were sealed of each tribe 12,000, as representative of the multitude of the faithful in each kingdom, who in the midst of national impurity kept themselves individually pure. By the *twelve* thousand to each tribe, each tribe seems as it were a representative of the whole, a minor Israel, or independent Church, as if with its twelve divisions and multitudes to each, within the great Church. These 144,000 may rather therefore be conceived to be representative of the wheat among the chaff, the purer part of the great visible Western Church in the twelve divisions ; and these are incessantly striving to learn the song of Reformation ; and these only, inclusive as they become of all the purity of the earth, can

possibly learn it. This limitation not only includes immediately all those of the Western Church, who are desirous of holiness, but excludes from the Reformation all Churches *except the Western*. This conclusion has before been adduced: on Peter's Patriarchate, or on the Western Church, are the hopes of Christianity founded. It appearing, therefore, that the song was in heaven and the learners upon earth, the next question respects the substance of the song.

This song, according to the accepted text, is not *new*, but *as it were* new. Here is an intimation, either that it was like the song, which St. John had before heard, yet with *some variation*; or that it was as it were new, because it had long been too faint to reach the prophet's ear, bewildered as he was in the dominions of the dragon and the beast, the earth, the wilderness and the sea. However this be construed, we are equally referred to the glorious responsive songs of heaven and earth in the fifth chapter. It may be suspected, that this song is not sung *before the four living ones*. The introduction of these four *as in heaven* at this time, is at least unexampled; and the Greek text justifies, if it do not demand, another sense; “they sung, *like the new song*,” that was sung of old, “before the four living ones and the elders.” This ancient song was thus responsive.

“They sung *a new song*, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and

tongue and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign upon the earth." Upon the earth this song is sung ; and there follows an angelic response from heaven.

" Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing." The general chorus of heaven and earth succeeds.

" Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

If the other idea be embraced, that the worship of the wild beast had almost superseded for a time all other adoration ; and that when the truth began again to rear its wounded head, the song was thus new or *as it were new*, no comment is required. Although, however, I have briefly proposed this interpretation, I prefer the latter, conceiving that the hundred and forty-four thousand compose a *standing* symbol of the Western Church, representative, like the two witnesses, of the gleanings of the twelve tribes of the Christian Church, and perpetually present during the whole 1260 days, although perhaps more numerous and more visible in the antitype at one time than at another.

This song therefore is *like* † that, which received the distinguishing title of the new song ; but still with essential variations. St. John, studiously concise, avoided a repetition of the whole hymn of chap. v ; although from a regard to the variations

† Thus the ὡς οὐλος in x. 1; the face *like* the sun.

which he heard, the insertion seemed to be requisite. The subject of the proper new song was the glory paid at that juncture when the book of futurity was taken and the seals were about to be opened : the particular subject at present seems to be the glory paid to the Lamb for their delivery from among the worshippers of the Beast. Still, however, with the slight variation in the few first words, the song is appropriate to each occasion ; and the sequel is alike. “ Blessing and honour and glory and power be unto the Lamb,” to the Church, even while militant upon earth.

4. “ The redeemed from the earth these are,
“ who with women have not been defiled : vir-
“ gins indeed are they.”

The original word for virgins plainly includes both sexes, as Elsner observes on the authority of Suidas. The spiritual import of the adultery and fornication is well known. Babylon is called the mother of harlots, and these women are the harlots, the corrupt churches of the twelve respective States, in whose corruption the saints have not been partakers. In the same spirit St. Paul desires to present the Church of Corinth as a chaste virgin unto Christ. (2 Cor. xi. 2.)

“ These are the followers of the Lamb whithersoever he withdraweth himself.”

It is comparatively easy to follow the Lamb in prosperous times; but these take up the cross and follow him. They depart not from him either to the right hand or the left, even when he with-

draws himself from the glory, which is his due, to walk in the land which the ravenous wild beasts have made a wilderness. Mede thus paraphrases it: "These faithful ones are not tied to any part of this mountain above other, as the false prophet's followers are to their *Cathedra Petri*."

"These were redeemed from the men, a first-fruit to the God; and to the Lamb."

As these are represented to be redeemed *generally from among men*, they are not taken from any particular national church; but are from among all the twelve nations of the men of the Roman earth. Either for the two witnesses or the company before us, there is not that necessity to find some one permanent and pure national church which some have suggested. As they exist during the 1260 days, before which time God had many faithful worshippers in the first set of men of understanding, the declaration must be limited to the first fruit of the 1260 days, or the gloriously afflicted harbingers of the Reformation, a first fruit preparatory to the great harvest of those gathered in consequence of invitations from the angels, who will immediately be found flying in mid-heaven, and calling to all the earth to fear God and come out of the mystic city doomed to destruction. Thus do these the first fruit form a most appropriate introduction to the history of the Reformation.

5. "And in their mouth was there not found a lie: without blemish indeed are they."

In their mouth, the one mouth of all, parallel to the one mouth of the witnesses, is found no lie. Their opponent spake like a dragon, ministered to the great lie of infidelity, but far as these are from his idolatry, as is expressed by their virginity, so far are they from the other great corruption, the sore of infidelity, as is expressed by their guileless truth. In every view they are without fault, whole and perfect, wanting nothing, as the Lamb whom they follow, without blemish, and worthy to be presented as an offering to God.

Dr. Faber, I conceive, loosens the strictness of this idea, failing of the distinction between him that worketh abomination and him that maketh a lie. His words, however, may be profitably quoted. “In their mouth was found no guile, inasmuch as they handle not the word of God deceitfully, like Popish venders of indulgences, and preachers of purgatory, human merit, and idolatry, but faithfully and simply declare the way of everlasting life.” Mede understands them to be, the faithful under the polluted times of the Antichristian Beast next before mentioned.

“By these 144,000,” continues Dr. Faber, “I understand peculiarly the depressed church in the wilderness previous to the time of the Reformation: for history sufficiently demonstrates that there have been in every age some faithful worshippers. These, however, went on their way in comparative obscurity. They are exhibited to us like the primitive Christians as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, as even exceeding joyful in

tribulation. They make no very prominent figure in history, nor were they able to shake the deep-rooted authority of the man of sin. Hence they are represented only as patiently exulting in their sufferings on Mount Zion in the presence of the Lamb. We must next turn our eyes to those more efficacious and decisive measures, which forced the papal tyrant to tremble upon his usurped throne for his now disputed authority." (See Faber ii. 367.)

6. " And I saw another angel flying in mid-
" heaven, having a Gospel everlasting* to
" evangelize them that sit † on the earth, and
" over every nation, and kindred, and tongue,
7. " and people; saying with a voice loud, Fear
" the God, and give to him glory, because
" there has come the hour of his judgment;
" and worship him who made the heaven, and
" the earth, and the sea, and fountains of wa-
" ters."

It is *another* angel that is now seen; and this *alone* might prove that the Lamb also was in the apocalyptic sense *an angel*. The same may be observed from the *other* angel of the seventeenth

* Glad tidings everlasting, to tell the glad tidings, *εὐεργεία πανεγελίας αιώνων, εὐαγγελίσαι τεσ, &c. &c.*

† Καθημέναι βασιλίσσαι, *I sit a Queen*, says the Adulteress of the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters. These therefore who sit upon the earth, if rule be intended, may rather respect the collective beasts than the worshippers. These may be eventually evangelized; slain with the sword of the mouth.

verse, who is immediately represented after the Son of man. The appearance of this angel is too strikingly poetical not to excite admiration. While the mystic company are striving to learn the hymn of redemption or reformation, of a sudden this angel appears with the everlasting Gospel in the midst of the symbolical heaven, and is seen and heard by every nation and kindred and tongue and people.

The *angels*, as has already been shewn, should not by any means prepossess our ears with an idea of purity: it is ordinarily used both by profane and sacred authors, as a name of office, and in no degree of nature, a messenger, indifferently from God or man, an ambassador, or a representative. (See i. 284.) John the Baptist sent *angels* or messengers (Luke vii. 24) to enquire of Jesus whether he were the Christ; and Christ sent messengers under the same title (Luke ix. 52) into a village of the Samaritans. The angels in the symbol, perhaps from the idea of guardian angels, so prevalent among the people of the East, who had their angels even over waters and over fire, are the symbols of kingdoms ecclesiastical or temporal *. An angel, a spirit, may indifferently be either good or bad, so, in the more literal sense, the tempter in Job, the lying spirit of the book of Kings, Satan, who is transformed into an angel of light; and thus in the symbol the four angels

* Atque hic in memoria revocandum est *Angelos* in hujusmodi visionibus eorum vicem repræsentare; quorum gubernationi præsint. (Mede Ad Cap. xiv.)

bound in the great river Euphrates are by no means pure. The speech shews the character and proceedings of the represented society; the faintness or loudness of voice has manifest respect to the vigour or effect. The descent from heaven implies the departure from authority: a course in the midst of heaven, the remaining in authority, or perhaps, if considered as *between* heaven and earth, a state of security without authority.

A short extract from Chambers's Dictionary may not be unacceptable. See *Church*.

"The Christian Church is frequently divided into *Greek* and *Latin*.

"The Church *Greek*, or Eastern, comprehends the churches of all the countries anciently subject to the Greek or Eastern Empire, all the space extended from Greece to Mesopotamia and Persia, and thence into Egypt.

"The Church *Latin*, or Western, comprehends all the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Africa, the North.

"Great Britain, part of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of the North, have been separated hence ever since the time of Henry VIII. and constitute what we call the *Reformed Church*.

"The Reformed Church is again divided into the *Lutheran* Church, the *Calvinistic* Church, and the Church of *England*.

Remembering that the Northern Churches, without the jurisdiction of the Beast and his Likeness, without the limits of the old Roman Empire, form no part of our subject, it is curious to compare the conciseness of the Prophet with the

striking digest of the historian. The beast with two horns is this ecclesiastical idolatrous empire, ‘Eastern and Western;’ and these three angels are precisely ‘the Lutheran Church, the Calvinistic Church, and the Church of England.’ The character and even shades of character of each messenger will be shewn to have represented the varying proceedings, the past, present, and future effects of the society typified.

The first subdivision of the pure Church is, in Chambers, the *Lutheran*. The expectations which the appearance and words of the first apocalyptic angel lead us to form must now be submitted.

This angel, who so conspicuously bears the Gospel, appears the first: both after and before events specified within the little book.

It, therefore, appears that this is an evangelical society, great and important either from extent or duration, the first of this description that appeared as a distinct society within the 1260 years, and apparently at a point neither near to the beginning nor to the end of that great period.

He flies in *mid-heaven*, and therefore his Society is in establishment; or if *between heaven and earth*, neither in authority nor depression, in secure and full toleration. The Lutheran Church answers either interpretation by its establishment in the separate states of the Germanic body, and its toleration in the Empire as a whole.

The voice of this messenger preaches the everlasting good news to evangelize *all* that dwell on the earth. Therefore the reforming influence of

this society must extend to all the nations of the Roman Empire without exception. In consequence of his appearance, all must become *more* evangelical, more the worshippers in spirit and in truth. Perhaps too this bearing of the *everlasting* gospel must denote this society as in *permanent* Reformation. The proceedings, however, are *simply* reforming, and this is a very distinctive mark. It does not at all contribute, like the following angel, to effect the fall of the mystic Babylon, nor like the succeeding to destroy the beast or his Likeness. It is simply anxious for the worship of the one true Almighty God; and that, directly or indirectly, within or without the sphere of its own proper influence. To the very nicety of all these particulars the Lutheran Church will be found to have agreed. This Society, by whose influence, direct and indirect, the face of religion has been so materially changed, appeared according to the prophecy, neither very near the beginning nor the end of that great period, which extends from the seventh to the nineteenth century.

“The rise and progress,” says Mosheim, “of the *Evangelical or Lutheran Church*, have been already related, so far as they belong to the history of the Reformation. The former of these titles was assumed by that church in consequence of the original design of its founders, which was to restore to its native lustre *the gospel* of Christ. Nor did the Church, now under consideration, discover any reluctance against adopting the name of the great man, whom Providence employed as

the honoured instrument of its foundation and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had been chiefly dispelled, excited his followers to assume his name, and to call their community *the Lutheran Church.*

“The rise of this church must be dated from that remarkable period, when the pontiff Leo X. drove Martin Luther, with his friends and followers, from the bosom of the Roman hierarchy, by a solemn and violent sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a regular form, and a considerable degree of stability and consistence, from the year 1530, when the system of doctrine and morality it had adopted was drawn up and presented to the diet of Augsburg; and it was raised to the dignity of a lawful and complete hierarchy, totally independent on the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of events already considered.”

The very term ‘*Evangelical*’ is a striking coincidence between the prophecy and the event; though no stress can with propriety be laid upon it except as indicative of the principles of the Society. Neither can any thing be drawn with decision from the remark that the individual Luther published a German translation of the Bible, “the different parts of which,” according to Mosheim, “being successively and gradually spread among the people, produced a sudden and almost incredible effect; and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the Church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.”

"The Lutherans of all Protestants are those who differ least from the Romish Church; as they affirm that the body and blood of Christ are materially present, though incomprehensibly, in the Lord's Supper. They likewise represent some religious institutions, as the use of images in churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's Supper, the form of exorcism in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of the like nature, as tolerable, and some of them as useful." So strikingly was the first angel a mild and perhaps too temperate a Reformer.

His voice was heard by all that dwell upon the earth, by every nation and kindred and tongue and people. That it was heard in Germany and many other nations has been already demonstrated. In Sweden the Church was reformed by Olaus Petri, a *disciple of Luther*, under countenance of Gustavus Vasa. The ambition of Christian II. of Denmark led him most ardently to forward the doctrines of *Luther*; and his two more honourable successors brought the great work to perfection. "Before the Diet of Augsburg the doctrine of *Luther* had made a considerable, though perhaps secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Britain, and the Netherlands;" and that indeed all the people of Europe, or more properly, of the Roman Empire, had lifted up their heads to hear this voice, is sufficiently known. It was heard, as we found, by the very Patriarchs of the Eastern Empire, though

finally rejected; and its ameliorating influence over the *whole* Roman Empire has been prodigious, though often indirect. This little leaven, the German Lutheran Church, tolerated in the very midst of the idolatrous domination, has from its happy situation done much towards leavening the whole lump. *The remnant, as was shewn in the eleventh chapter, were affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven,* that remnant who still nominally adhered to the Romish errors. This angel is shewn as having the same influence reforming, or, as more strongly in the Greek, evangelizing the dwellers upon earth. The parallelism of the expressions is obvious; when the angel exhorts to "*fear God and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come.*" The consequence is, they did fear; "*a great fear fell upon them; they were affrighted* (the same original word for great fear), *and gave glory to the God of heaven at the hour of the judgment of the great earthquake.*" This exact agreement regulates our chronology to a day.

This Lutheran messenger says nothing either of the fall of the ecclesiastical Babylon, or of the secular beast; unlike the succeeding angels, he has therefore no influence upon these events; The ruin of Babylon has indeed been strongly, though indirectly, retarded by the Lutheran society. The Lutheran profession may indeed be tolerated; but it is not any where nationally established, within the Roman Empire. By the partial reformation upon Rome, she has been made less obnoxious to censure and judgment; besides

that the very circumstances of the pacification of the Recess of Augsburg saved the Romish church. "Such as adhered to the ancient system," as Dr. Robertson remarks, "had reason to be satisfied with that article in it known by the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*. The Protestants *fore-saw its consequences*, but were obliged to relinquish their opposition to it. *It has proved the great barrier of the Romish church in Germany against the Reformation.*" Thus was the Lutheran church simply a reformer: the sore, however, of the daughter of Babylon was healed but slightly. "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one to his own country, for her judgment reacheth unto heaven" (Jer. li. 9.) Thus do we arrive at the next angel, who will be found to be simply an avenger.

8. "And another angel followed, saying, Fell,
"fell; Babylon the great: (*because**) of the
"wine of the poison† of her fornication has
"she made all nations drink."

Here are the proceedings of the second society, Calvinistic. The most remarkable feature is the indignant, perhaps the too unrelenting and too triumphant, strain in which is denounced the fall of this Babylon. It seems that he would have wept like Jonah, had this Nineveh repented and turned to the Lord with the whole heart. By the

* Griesbach doubts.

† See Mede on the *Origen*. Ad cap. xiv.

same prophetical style in which the first angel cried that the hour of judgment was come, it is now proclaimed that Babylon is fallen ; the speech of each containing the whole of his influence throughout his existence. There is now not a single effort to reform her : she is at once denounced, with justice indeed, by the name of Babylon ; and the literal Babylon, that grand promoter of idolatry, is shewn exceeded by the mystic Babylon, the Great, who had made all nations drink of the poison of her fornication.

This vengeance seems the exclusive purpose or effect of this messenger's appearance. He does not bear the everlasting gospel of peace : the reforming effects of his coming are small ; but he is great as the tormentor and executioner of the Adulteress. The everlasting good news had already been published throughout every nation : this angel has nothing to add to its purity or extension : he comes for the exclusive purpose of afflicting the Woman of Babylon. The character of Calvinism has been always violent ; perhaps we might say always intolerant. The great object, or at least the great effect, has been the destruction of the domination of the Church of Rome ; and in the fury of attack the Church apostolical has not been spared, nor by any means a better temple subsequently built upon the site. But from this hour, as will hereafter be shewn, the nations begin to hate the Adulteress, to make her desolate and naked, to eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. From this hour she gains neither

additional privilege, nor power, nor riches ; but she loses daily more and more. All pleasant things begin to depart from her : the smoke of the burning city continually ascendeth : the conflagration continues to extend ; and the sorrow of the woman is in progressive increase until, preternaturally as it were, she is hurled down for ever. One purport of this denunciation is the reference to Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the exhibition of a Babylon of which the literal was a type and shadow. We have an outline to be filled up from ancient prophecies ; and thus this Babylon, being undoubtedly the Roman Church, the sun of the Western Woman, a great part of the ancient prophecies are yet to be fulfilled upon Rome.

It is, however, particularly to be observed that the type does not here so much regard the city Babylon, as a woman emblematical of the symbolical city, “she made all nations drink of the cup of her fornication.” The consequence is, that when she fell, she fell *not as a city* which would have been her utter extinction ; but *as a woman* she fell from her seat without any consequent loss of existence, without the demolition of the correspondent city. From what seat then did she fall ? This is a question only to be answered from the xviith and xviiith chapters. She fell from her sovereign *seat upon the beast, and upon the waters.* In fact, the present text might almost be said to appertain to the xviiith chapter ; and may thence be interpreted, where it is in some degree amplified and enlarged. The proper subject in that chapter is the fall of Babylon from the beast ;

whereas such is not the *peculiar* subject of the prophecy before us. As far as Babylon is a part of the false prophet, and a conspicuous part, the introduction of this speech within this chapter is appropriate and necessary. The point of chronology is precisely that of xvii. 2; and so loud a voice against a conspicuous part of the false prophet, which voice *must* have been at this moment heard, could not have been left unnoticed. But the proper subject of our present consideration is rather the whole Empire, than eminently Rome; and therefore is the speech now more concise than in the xviiiith chapter, to which the remainder is postponed.

In that full parallel it is moreover intimated that he neither appeared as the first or Lutheran angel *in the mid-heaven*, nor with the succeeding angel spake *from heaven*. On the other hand, he came down from the heaven of establishment; and thus the Calvinistic society was struggling from its infancy against all authorities; whereas Luther's cause was immediately espoused by confederated princes, and in many places received into establishment. Hence the succession of the second angel to the first, and consequently of the third to the first and second, implies a succession, not of space, or character and success, but simply of time.

Enough has perhaps been said on this invidious point. We may not, however, withhold a conscientious interpretation of the prophecy, because it may seem levelled against the faith of one united kingdom, any more than we may silently

omit to notice the stigma affixed upon the Church of Rome in courtesy to so great a proportion of the other. Criminal is the delicacy of suppressing important truth ; and appeal may be made to unprejudiced reason on the comparative spirit of the three angels. Not a doubt can exist, that the second typifies the Calvinistic society ; and surely, to say the least, the spirit of this second is represented as neither so pure and temperate as the Lutheran first, nor so majestic and dignified as the English third. It is not indeed easy to conceive a more solemn expression of elevated character than in the third angel.

9. “ And another angel, a third, followed them,
“ saying with a voice loud, If any one wor-
“ ship the Beast and (*or*) his Likeness, and
“ (*or*) receive a mark in his forehead, or on
10. “ his hand, the same indeed shall drink of
“ the wine of the poison of the God, embittered,
“ undiluted, in the cup of his indignation ; and he shall be tormented with fire
“ and brimstone before the holy angels, and
11. “ before the Lamb : And the smoke of their
“ torment for ages of ages ascendeth ; nor
“ have they rest day or night, who worship the
“ beast and his Likeness, and whosoever re-
12. “ ceiveth the mark of his name. Here the
“ patience of the saints is ; they keeping the
“ commandments of the God, and the faith of
“ Jesus.”

The xviiith chapter, the judgment of Babylon (xvii. 1.), without regard to the judgment on the beast, or any *general* relation to the false prophet, gives the more full proceedings of these **two** angels, Calvinistic and English, but of these **only**, upon the particular destruction of this Babylon. As the Lamb and his company formed the symbolical receptacle of those worshippers, who had no power upon the fall of Babylon, and who were so diffused as to be incapable of particular notice; and as the first angel, the Lutheran Church, was simply a preacher and reformer in Babylon, like Jonah the saviour of Nineveh, so in exact accordance do not either the Lamb or the first angel make the slightest appearance in that more full account of the judgment upon the Adulteress.

The little book, however, by no means thus limited to the *great* power of the corrupt church, is not the history of the Adulteress exclusively, but of all events connected with the Reformation, its birth, its progress, and its yet future diffusion. Here then are the three great agents, and their peculiarities of character. The first is remarkable for a temperate diffusion of the truth, and very dissimilar from the second, who characteristically endeavours the indiscriminate demolition of the ecclesiastical fabric, as it stood in the commencement of the 16th century, a temple founded by God, but whose majestic simplicity had been cruelly marred by fantastic superadditions, and upon which had been piled the proud pinnacles of human invention. The third angel, pure and permanent, and receiving its first establishment

soon after the Lutheran and Calvinistic appearances, has also a character of his own, uttering his *indignant protest against general idolatry*. In the eighteenth chapter we find him, indeed, a grand agent in the peculiar plagues upon the mystic Babylon; but such is not his contradistinguishing character, which consists in the denunciation before us of the judgments upon the whole temporal Roman Empire, the Beast and his Likeness. Such denunciations demonstrate this symbolized society to be the great final cause of these plagues, which are not immediate, but future. The second angel, exhibiting his more immediate effect, uses a past tense, '*fell, fell, Babylon* ;' but the third, using the present and future, '*the smoke ascendeth, and she shall be tormented*,' indicates a judgment *commencing* at a later time than the woman's *fall*, and certainly subsequent therefore to the Reformation, and the 16th century.

One particularity of this judgment is, that the devoted advocates of the corrupted Empire should drink of the wine of the wrath of God, as they had drank the wine of the poison. Another specification is, that this cup should be presented in the presence of the holy angels and of the Lamb, or in the presence of the opponents of corruption. As on looking forward we read of a vintage great, and a treading of a wine-press great, we must of course conceive that the *fulfilment* of the present denunciation against every corrupt community, Eastern or Western, must be the result of this treading the vine, and consequently posterior to the whole vintage proper. The vials of wrath

are not vials of *the wine* of wrath, and are consequently foreign to our consideration. The fulfilment of the prophecy, in which fulfilment this angel must be an agent, is probably in the blood of the grapes, which flows from the wine-press to the bridles of some victor-horses, that is to say, in the seven blessings on the pure faith or plagues upon corruption consequent upon the seventh vial.

The prophecy within a prophecy intimates a *preparation* for the fulfilment of the predicted acts; and upon the whole, directly and indirectly, the influence of this angel is peculiarly in the last judgment upon the corrupters and corrupted, which is contained under the seventh vial of wrath and the seven finishing plagues. He is to cause the corrupted to drink of ‘the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out in the cup of his indignation.’ Among the events of the seventh vial we find this event in the precise words of the denunciation. ‘The *cup* of the *wine* of the *wrath* of his *indignation*’ is given to the inhabitants of Babylon the great. The inhabitants of Babylon are component parts of the second beast. This pure permanent society of the third angel, whatever society it may be, is incontrovertibly, therefore, to be a most conspicuous cause of the defeat and ruin of a part of the adverse host. But most amply has it been already shewn, that *England* is to effect the ruin of each beast. England, neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, independent of past and future proofs, must therefore be that pure society typified by this angel. Let us now proceed to the consideration of a few particulars.

9. “ If any one worship the beast and (*or*) his
“ Likeness, and (*or*) receive a mark in his
“ forehead or on his hand, &c.”

The suggested Italic emendations agree, according to Parkhurst, with the legitimate and ordinary purport of the conjunction. It shews the sense more clearly, because it scarcely appears that with propriety a man could be said to be devoted at once to two Empires, the Roman and the Græco-Roman. Their character, nevertheless, is *alike idolatrous*, as expressed both in the present and in the eleventh verse; and the devotion to the one may therefore in some sense denote a votary to the other.

It has already been observed that the threat against them that had received the mark is favourable to the numerical *Apostates* with that of *Latens*. It could not even in the symbol have afforded just ground of punishment that these *literal* men chanced to be born within the Latin division of the Empire; nor in that case would even England, the denouncer and destroyer, be herself exempt from the destruction. The present specification is not against the *Latins* who have the *number of the name*, but against those *apostates* who receive the mark of *the bestial name*. The present introduction of the Likeness or Eastern Empire has also been already noticed; and the Likeness has been considered to be still in existence, as the Turco-Roman. It hence follows that not indeed the Likeness, but the idolatry towards the Likeness of the Beast, is through the

means of this same England to be brought to its end. It should seem therefore that the corrupt worshippers, not only of the Latin but of the Greek division, are to be gathered together to their destruction, at the hands, as it were, of this angel, upon the day of the great battle of God the Almighty. In that battle, however, there is no mention of the Likeness, so that even without the aid of the sixth vial we might conclude that ere the battle the Likeness will have been absorbed, will have been devoured by the Beast.

The figure of the cup is in frequent use (Ps. lxxv. 8, and Is. li. 17, 22, τὸ ποτήριον τῷ θυμῷ αὐτῷ, Sept.); and the cup of the wine of the poison of God is in clear opposition to the cup of the wine of the poison of Babylon's fornication mentioned by the last angel; but as we have hitherto assumed that the θυμός signifies *the poison*, such sense should receive justification. The Greek word which we translate *wrath*, in an hellenistical sense denotes inflaming or inflammatory poison, which is thus used by the Seventy in Deut. xxxii. 24: 'the poison of serpents,' and, 33, 'the poison of dragons is their wine and the cruel venom of asps.' And again, in Ps. lviii. or lvii. 4. 'their poison is like the poison of a serpent.' This is in conformity to the Hebrew word which signifies both wrath and an inflammatory acrid poison such as is emitted by enraged serpents. If this acceptation of the θυμός be thought desirable, as the second angel intimates that the nations once pure had drank of the poisonous cup of fornication, this third informs us that these nations

shall be made to drink the cup of purity, poisonous to the idolater.

In the opposition of the cups, the poisonous cup of corruption to the poisonous cup of the Lord, the latter may thus imply nothing more severe than conversion and purity, as may the tormenting in chap. xi, and the sorrow in chap. xviii. The cup of the corruption poisoned the *pure* nations, poisoned and killed them, by depriving them of purity: the cup of the Lord poisons the *impure* nations, poisons and kills them by withdrawing their impurity. The cup of wrath upon an *idolater* must be *purity*; and the drinking is the thorough acquisition of its contents. As they were before thoroughly imbued with corruption, so now shall they much more be made full of reformation, this mystic wrath of God against that corruption.

The wine in the cup of God is undiluted and embittered, which Mede remarks to be an allusion to the Septuagint version of Ps. lxxv. 8. ‘A cup is in the hand of the Lord of untempered wine, full of mixture,’ mixed with myrrh, frankincense, or some other bitter drug, which composed what was called by the Jews the cup of malediction. The Chaldee translates the lxxvth Psalm. ‘A cup of malediction in the hand of the Lord, and strong wine full of a mixture of bitterness, to take away the understanding of the wicked.’

10. “ And he shall be tormented with fire and
“ brimstone before the holy angels and before
“ the Lamb.”

As we looked forward for the wine of the wrath of God, and passing the consideration of the *vials* of *general* wrath, found the wine more especially in the seventh vial, so in the same manner is found the fire generally among the vials, but the grand fulfilment in the seventh. The fourth angel, indeed, poured out his vial upon the sun, and power was given unto him to *scorch men with fire, and men were scorched with great heat*; but under the seventh vial the idolaters are taken and cast *alive* into a *lake of fire burning with brimstone*; and assuredly before the holy angels and before the Lamb, because the pure society once established is to enjoy for ever and ever a triumphant permanence. Here again then has it appeared that the third angel, or the Church of England, is intimately concerned in the events of the seventh vial.

Fire is the expression for war. The perpetually ascending smoke in allusion to Sodom may be the smoke, the consequence, of this war; and seems to denote to corruption a state of continual subjection. The permanence of this subjection is seen in the declaration, xx. 10, after a thousand years of torment, that they shall, with the dragon, their new associate in misery, be still tormented for ages of ages.

It is evidently absurd, however, to suppose that the symbolical Lamb and his company exult over a literal torment; and I much doubt whether there should not be a direct reference to the witnesses, who are to slay this same beast by fire *from the mouth*. It may likewise be remem-

bered that the Word of God is to slay him with the sword *from the mouth*; and this, therefore, may only imply a destruction of the bestial principles by the pure doctrine, the same conversion which was contained in the use of the poisonous wine. Thus will the thousand years of torment present only the cheering and beautiful picture of a thousand years of prevailing purity. Some intermixture of lawful restraint upon the great minority of the wicked may not improbably, however, introduce and accompany this glorious state. The corrupt principles which may be nationally and legally extinct can never actually be lost. Ignorance and error and corruption must coexist with human nature, though wisdom and piety may preponderate in the scale of nations.

“ Nor have they rest day or night, &c. &c.”

This may perhaps be the strong expression of the incessant nature of their depression. It is not only the sun which scorches them with great heat, but the fire and brimstone; and the heat is of the night as well as the day. In this light the full force of the expression can scarcely, perhaps, be felt but by those who have experienced the fervours of an Eastern sun, and the exquisite sensations in the coolness of the night.

As the cup of the wine of the poison of God, and the fire and brimstone and smoke of the torment, were eminently found in the judgments of the seventh vial, in which this angel has so conspicuous a share, so in the same place do we also

find the exact words of this judgment. The beast is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone at the judgment of the seventh vial; and when, after a thousand years, the dragon is cast into the same place of torment, it is incidentally mentioned that *there* the beast and false prophet are, and that all shall be tormented day and night for ever. The opinions upon the gratifying nature of this torment may here receive a confirmation from an opposition certainly intentional. The four living ones in the age of Constantine had no rest day and night praising him that sat on the throne: at this period of revived prosperity the same incessant praise must be paid, and as an implied consequence, the opposite party have no rest day nor night. Purity is *their* pain; and while the four living ones praise, the enemies are tormented by the very sound.

“Here the patience of the saints is; they
“keeping the commandments of the God, and
“the faith of Jesus.”

The contents of this compendious sentence may be very precious. The original, however, is more strong, as there is more force in the Greek adverb of place. ‘*Here, even in this,*’ the society typified by this third angel is the patience of the saints: *in this*, in the Church of England, are they keeping the commandments of the God and the faith of Jesus. It may be imagined, indeed, though it perplex our interpretation, that the reference to xii. 17, to ‘the seed of the woman who

keep the commandments of the God and have the testimony of Jesus,' indirectly intimates security to the apostolical churches of the North. The importance of the subject demands, indeed, an accurate investigation; and when we consider the essential derivation * of the adverb of place, there may appear a necessity of confining the sense to the members of the last angel rather than to the great aggregate of seceders from corruption typified by the several societies preceding; more especially, indeed, as the character of the saints or holy ones does not, if the Apostolical Church be of divine institution, altogether appertain to the society immediately preceding.

Here then, in the members of this angel, is the patience of the saints; and thus, although these holy ones escape not tribulation, yet it works patience, a patient endurance under sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions. This connects us with the second branch. Here are they that *keep* the commandments of the God and the faith of Jesus; and as in our language the keeping of the commandments is rather equivocal, we must refer for the meaning to the parallel passages in this same book of the Revelation.

'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy and *keep* those things which are written therein.' (Rev. i. 3.) 'I am thy fellow-servant, and of them which *keep* the words of this book.' (xxii. 9.) 'Blessed is he that *keepeth* the sayings of this book.'

* οὐδὲ, q. d. οὐ τῷδε, in this τοῦτῳ place 'namely.' Parkhurst.

xxii. 7.) ‘And to the angel of the Church of Philadelphia write, ‘Thou hast *kept* my word, and hast not *denied my name*. Because thou hast *kept* the word of my *patience*, I also will *keep* thee from the hour of temptation.’ (iii. 8 and 10.)

As in strictness there are no moral precepts in the book of the Apocalypse, the *keeping* of the first quotations may be the great attention to the prophecies, or rather *cannot* be what we understand by the familiar expression. In the last quotation there is a decided opposition between the two parts of the sentence. Jesus was to keep or *guard* them from evil, because they had *kept* (necessarily, *guarded*) the Word, and had not denied his name. They had guarded, preserved, kept in sanctuary the Word of faith, and they therefore were to be preserved. The members of the third angel are therefore either to keep a singular attention to the prophecies, or much rather to be the perpetual inviolate repositories of the knowledge of God. Whichever be intended, there will not be much affected the great object of this verse of reference.

Here are they who bought their pure state with sufferings, who *eminently keep* the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. Here are eminently they who are *blessed* for keeping the things which are written in this book. Here are eminently they that having kept the *word of my patience*, and not having apostatized, and not having denied my name, have a claim upon my promise to be kept by me.* Here are in a de-

* As here, however, are not those of xii. 17, there must be a slight inaccuracy somewhere.

gree those of whom eminently was the angel of the seventh vial who shewed the ruin of Babylon. (xix. 10). Here are those servants of God, of the same angel who are shewn the things which must shortly be done; and who, from the time of their coming forth from the corruption, are to be blessed for evermore. Here in Protestant England, or in the apostolic pure church, eminently in England, meet all these glorious circumstances.

Upon the whole, “the description which is given of the office of the third angel accurately corresponds (*in the more literal sense*) with the part which the Anglican has taken in the contest with the adherents of Popery. For more than a century after the Reformation, the writings of the English divines continued to denounce the vengeance of heaven against those who still partook of the abominations of the apostate Roman beast after all the warnings which they had received; and the ablest expositors of those prophecies, which relate to the corrupt tyranny of the mystic Babylon, have been children or fathers of our national Church. Of these it will be sufficient to mention the illustrious name of Mede; who, by his successful application of many of the predictions of Daniel and St. John to Popery, loudly called upon the whole world to come out of the harlot city, lest they should drink of the wine of the wrath of God.” This is almost all that, supported by Mr. Whitaker, Dr. Faber submits upon this interesting subject of this angel.

Thus I trust we have arrived to a prosperous conclusion upon the history of these three angels.

That any commentators could ever have persuaded themselves, that while the last was the *Church of England*, the two first were the individuals, Luther and Calvin, might seem not a little strange to those who have not been very conversant with prophetical commentaries. The manner in which it has been attempted to prop this idea is almost as strange. To mention but one part of it: "Luther remained for a time in the midst of the Roman ecclesiastical heaven, and with extreme difficulty his mind extricated itself from the trammels of a blind obedience to the See of Rome. Thus he fulfilled the prophecy of remaining in the midst of the Roman ecclesiastical heaven." Luther, however, at a very early stage of his public proceedings, publicly burnt the Pope's bull, and in derision excommunicated him and his cardinals! But I am not at all inclined to prop this system by the easy confutation of adversaries. If these angelic actors have in effect already advanced upon the stage, I must apprehend that no doubt can remain respecting the proper interpretation. That they have already appeared is, from a thousand considerations, obvious; and inconceivable indeed would it be, that the demolition of the fabric of corruption should make so large a part of the prophecy, and that, nevertheless, the great agent, the Reformation of the 16th century, should not be noticed. The events of the last chapter left the beasts in full power a thousand years back; and, as is observed by Bishop Newton, what a chasm, and what an extraordinary and incompre-

hensible chasm, without the prediction of any memorable events, if none of the prophecies of this chapter be yet fulfilled. As, moreover, but a very few years yet remain until the end of the 1260, and the fall of the beast, with what perplexing and unexampled rapidity must all the numerous and distinct events of this chapter, threatened and fulfilled, be on this strange superposition about to crowd upon us!

13. “And I heard of a voice from the heaven,
“saying, Write, Blessed the dead, the dying
“in the Lord! From henceforth,* yea, saith
“the Spirit, in order that they may rest from
“their labours, and their works do follow
“them.”

The present version of the passage, as in effect given also in the margin of our Bibles, is manifestly the more correct, though the investigation of the sense will scarcely be affected. It is a verse which has been as much trifled with as any one sentence of this book, so much-abused. An idea which has been thought worthy to be expressed in the most significant manner by the command, under these circumstances almost unique, that it should be *written*, has received, for instance, but this slight notice within a formal treatise on the 1260 days, which contains the quintessence, if not the substance of all former commentators. “Hence they had need of that consolatory declaration,

* See in Griesbach the variations.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth ! By their preaching, the gloomy fears of purgatory were dispelled ; and the pious learned to build with confidence upon the assurance of the Spirit, that whenever they depart hence and are no more seen, they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

The doctrine of purgatory is so insignificant among doctrinal corruptions, perhaps so *comparatively* innocent, that the supposition that this poor solitary error has here received a notice seemingly so unequal to its deserts, almost approaches to the ludicrous. The subject, however, is confessedly difficult.

The point of chronology in this loud voice, and the loud voice of xii. 10, &c. is the same. In each case the voice is immediately successive to the full flow of the Reformation; and as in the first was pronounced salvation and strength and conquest by the blood of the Lamb, and rejoicing and security, so is there here rest and blessing and triumph. They, therefore, who loved not their lives until death, may now be those who are to rest from their labours. The reciprocal confirmation may be allowed weight.

In the parallel to the third angel, given in the xviiith chapter, he is not seen at all ; but only *the voice* is heard *from heaven*. In our present subject it does not appear whether he were seen or only heard by the prophet ; for the following the other angels is only the succession in order of time : we may rather conclude indeed that he was only heard. This is worthy of notice, as it may

not appear improbable that this voice, now heard from heaven, is the sequel of the third angel's loud voice. Upon this supposition he first spoke to the whole earth from the ninth to the twelfth verse inclusive; and then particularly addressed himself to St. John with the command to write. If this conjecture be correct, it will serve us by binding more strongly than ever the twelfth and the present verse to the peculiar service of England.

The voice, however, in any case proceeds from heaven: and, since the dragon is thence ejected, it must proceed from a pure system of religion. The earth is corrupt; the inhabitants corrupt, and as men, dead in their corruption. The symbolical death of the dead idolaters (for it is plainly the *dead* who are now dying in the Lord) is their conversion to pure Christianity; and this sense receives yet tenfold strength from the expression of dying *in the Lord*. The dead, dying in the Lord at this juncture, are the corrupt communities who become pure; and, beside the English and Irish territories, it may *perhaps* admit some of the seven communities, the names of men of the eleventh chapter, who are but now symbolically *slain*, at this same hour in which England seceded from the corruptions of the Western Church. I have written, *some* of the communities, because not all the nations who died to the *Romish* corruptions, and whose loud voices were heard in the Reformation, *died in the Lord*. The sure promise of blessedness and preservation may exclusively appertain to those who, dying to one

corruption, do not live to another, who yet remain in the church founded by the Apostles. *Thus,* alas! were not slain all the seven thousand names of men. From henceforth, verily, says the Spirit, a pure apostolic church, wheresoever once established in the Lord—from henceforth, from this middle of the 16th century, shall fall no more. Thus is expressed an animating truth worthy indeed to be written on tablets of brass. The Primitive Churches fresh from the hand of Christ and his apostles, with miraculous powers, and with zeal and ability little less than miraculous, were divided and waning even during the life of the apostles : in the course of a few years from their death were corrupted and enfeebled ; and in a few centuries were lost. If such be human nature, of which we have sad proof, what might we not with much more shew of reason have expected for the churches of the present day ? When human prospects might have been the most gloomy, the eye of faith is enlightened. The present national receptacles of pure religion are declared her inviolable sanctuaries ; and from these, ere long, shall the knowledge of the Lord flow forth to cover the earth, as the waters the sea.

The most difficult part of the sentence, although perhaps of minor importance, yet remains for consideration. '*Their works do follow them.*' To this I know no better interpretation than a reference to the original of xviii. 5, where Babylon's sins follow her to heaven, and God remembers her iniquities. As evil, then, thus hunts the wicked person to overthrow him, so the good

deeds of these Protestant communities are to follow them, through many dangers, even to the national glory which awaits them in xix. 9, and xx. 4. The English language has borrowed from the Hebrew a similar idiom, ‘A man’s sins will find him out.’

Another interpretation of the whole verse I would briefly suggest, because it has some, if inferior, plausibility.

Individuals, it may be said, are here individuals, because the proclaiming angel himself represents the community. ‘Write, blessed are the dead, dying in the Lord *from now*.’ In vi. 10, they asked until when the Lord did not judge; and it was oracularly announced to them, in order that they might *rest* still a short time: ‘Until their fellow servants should be about to be fulfilled, who should then be about to be killed, *as even they*.’ The present declaration is, ‘Write, blessed they who are dead, blessed they who are in the Lord dying *from now*.’ Blessed the first dead of vi. 11, and with them the fellow servants of vi. 11, now dying, the witnesses now being slain. ‘Yea, verily, saith the spirit, in order that they should rest from their troubles, their works follow with them.’ There is now a glorious and permanent effect from their death.

This is not so lucid an exposition, because there is indirectly conveyed applause rather than censure upon the disgraceful event of the *death* of the witnesses. Yet in any case perhaps *the following of the works* may have connection with this Son of Man *immediately about to reap*. This may be part of the work which so closely follows.

14. “And I looked; and, behold, a cloud
“white; and upon the cloud one sitting like a
“Son of Man, having on his head a crown
“golden, and in his hand a sickle sharp!”

A cloud is a nation; a white cloud a pure nation, and the ‘*behold*’ the legitimate expression for surprise. So long a period had the beast enjoyed an uninterrupted national domination, and so long had the second beast prevented the national establishment of a pure church, that the prophet is surprised at the sudden appearance of a pure nation supporting the Likeness of a Son of Man, or of a pure national church. Daniel’s Son of Man, indeed, is brought with the clouds of heaven upon the beast’s destruction, and has given to him an everlasting dominion; and in the interpretation, ‘the saints of the Most High receive the kingdom.’ But this Son of Man of Daniel must have had a prior existence, because he is *brought* to receive the dominion. Thus sits for a while before the judgment St. John’s Son of Man upon the white cloud; and continues there to sit through the harvest and vintage even to the treading of the wine-press, of which the immediate consequence in Daniel’s parallel is, that the Son of Man receives the kingdom. There is therefore every probability, if not an absolute certainty, that at different points of existence these Sons of Man are the same powers. But it can many times be independently, and therefore indisputably, proved, that this fifth monarchy, pure and universal, is to proceed from England; and

English, therefore, are the saints who receive the kingdom, England the white cloud, and the Church in England the Son of Man upon the cloud.

We might, however, have taken a shorter road to the same point. As this appearance immediately followed the invitation of the angel of the Reformation, this pure nation within the Roman Empire must have had existence speedily subsequent to the Reformation, an existence, moreover, *permanent*, because he sits long upon the cloud. But no power except England has fulfilled the prophecy. England has long been a pure nation, with a pure apostolical church; and no other such nation exists or has existed in the Roman world. The crown upon the head of the church shadows out authority; and the gold may be considered, as will be found, in a sense of praise. He sits some time in preparation before he proceeds to reap: he sits during the first vial while the harvest of the earth is ripening from the 16th almost to the 19th century; while the sharp sickle, prepared and in his hand, denotes him the future instrument of vengeance in the hand of Providence. The imagery bears a strong resemblance to a part of the famous prophecy of Is. xviii. “For thus saith Jehovah unto me; ‘I will sit still (but I will keep my eye upon my prepared habitation) as the parching heat just before lightning, as the dewy cloud in the heat of harvest.’” ‘The stillness, as it has been finely remarked, of this awful pause, under the image of

the torpid state of the atmosphere in hot weather, when not a gleam of sunshine breaks for a moment through the sullen gloom, is admirably paralleled by the session of the Son of Man on the white cloud with the sharp sickle in his hand. The sudden irruption of judgment, signified by the next angel, answers to Isaiah's expected storms of thunder and lightning, which in the suffocating heats of the latter end of summer succeed to that perfect stillness and stagnation of the atmosphere.

My admiration is constantly excited that the downfall of the enemies should ever have been placed at a time subsequent to the 1260 days. This chapter has by one eminent commentator been declared to be a complete history of the 1260 days; and in this chapter is contained the harvest and the vintage, which confessedly symbolize the final destruction of all the enemies. This author has, nevertheless, most unaccountably placed that destruction beyond these 1260 days, and made the enemies flourish in all imaginable vigour until the end of them, when their power is opposed, and begins to decrease! The arguments by which this system should be propped are absolutely wanting; and, upon the whole, I conceive that nothing can be more plain than the fated termination of the beast's existence at the instant of the termination of the 1260 days.

15. “And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a voice loud to him sitting

" on the * cloud, Send in thy sickle, and reap ;
" because there is come the hour of reaping,
" because there is over-ripe the harvest of the
16. " earth. And there cast in he that sat on the
" cloud his sickle on the earth ; and there was
" reaped the earth."

It has already been observed that the Lamb is shewn to be an *angel*, in the apocalyptic language, from the circumstance of the *other* angel who followed him. *Another* angel also follows this Son of Man ; and thus again, is there is a decided intimation that the Son of Man is an angel in the style of the Apocalypse. As, moreover, the Lamb and Son of Man represent communities, so must the angels. As the angels have been in other places proved representatives of communities, so must the Lamb and Son of Man. There is a reciprocal confirmation, and it is of the strongest nature.

As it is an angel who comes out of the temple, it appears that this temple is not that of chapter xi, the purest part of the city, and inhabited by men only. We have no city connected with this temple : in this symbol are no earthly worshippers, and no Gentiles. Yet it is not the temple of heaven ; for above it sits the Son of Man on a cloud. In the seventeenth verse, moreover, an angel will be found to proceed from a temple, specified as in

* *Genitive*, whereas in verses 14 and 16 accusative to same preposition in same use. In the Apocalypse nothing is too minute for notice.

heaven, or rather perhaps, from the temple of him who sat in heaven, the Son of Man on the cloud. As, therefore, there is here a want of that specification which is peculiar to the temple of the seventeenth, this defect must be significant, and, again, this temple cannot be the peculiar temple of heaven. This temple, therefore, unconnected with the city on the one hand and the heaven on the other, and connected, as it will appear, with the earth of the vial, is typical of the great Western Church. The temple, unmixed with the idea of a city, is a church general; whether defiled or undefiled, we only can know from circumstances. This temple is obviously the temple on the Mount Sion, on the which was seen the slain Lamb, the defiled temple, of the Church general of the Roman Empire, the only subject of the prophecy, and upon which the contemporary and identified vials are now in progressive effusion. The Mount Sion, although not absolutely synonymous with the temple, must obviously be the State or Empire, on which that temple is founded.

At this time, therefore, after some pure church had long been supported by a pure nation, some ecclesiastical power of the European temple expresses, by a voice loud and as of * pain, some distressful national proceeding, which eminently affects the concerns of religion. As the three first angels and the Lamb and the Son of Man were societies properly ecclesiastical, although in more

* See *μραζω*.

than one instance connected with secular interests and kingdoms, so must this angel and the succeeding be ecclesiastical societies, whose fate may yet be intermixed with the fortunes of nations.

The voice expresses the actions of the speaker; and this cry ecclesiastical on the part of one nation brings down upon all the corrupt the vengeance of God. ‘The voice or effect of his appearance and speech, of his actions or sufferings, is, ‘Thrust in thy sickle and reap, because the harvest of the earth is over-ripe: it is dried:’ vengeance has been delayed too long. This symbolical harvest must have had its time to ripen: it had all the time of the diffusion of the noisome and grievous sore of the first vial, the whole term, a term ecclesiastically unvaried, of nearly two centuries and a half successive to the Reformation, the time wherein the Son of Man had sat upon the white cloud, prepared to reap with the sickle of literal vengeance in the hand, and not with the sword of reformation in the mouth.

But independent of the pure church on the pure nation, the Son of Man on the white cloud, this loud cry is the first ecclesiastical revolution of moment, subsequent to the Reformation. It is an overt act, limited to one nation, and the first overt act of vengeance. We are consequently to look for it among the first vials. The very first, however, of the contagious sore does not correspond; for, besides that it is the time of ripening, it is not either limited to one nation, or an act strictly overt. But the second vial, the vial of blood, on that *one* nation typified by the sea, and

which will be shewn to have relations strictly ecclesiastical, does fulfil all the requisites, and in every circumstance of time and place corresponds to the loud cry. In the loud cry, and in the sea of blood as of a dead carcase, we may alike discern the French Revolution ; and in the reaping, the next overt action of vengeance, and extending beyond a particular space over the whole field of the prophecy, we must discern the bitter *consequences* of the French Revolution, when under the next, the third vial, *all* the rivers and fountains of the corrupted Roman Empire become blood. Every soul of life died in the bloody sea of France, when by that most memorable act of her legislature twenty-six millions of men solemnly decreed that there was no God and no life beyond the grave. By the utterance of so loud a cry, so painful to herself, she has since brought, and is now bringing (1812), every evil of the harvest upon the Roman earth.* The angel of the loud cry is thus identified with the second of the angels of the xvith chapter, who all proceed from the temple, in signification that the vengeance relates to the temple and the Mount Sion, the church and state of the Roman Empire.

The accordance between the xvith and this part of the xivth chapter is thus far most remarkable and strong. The silent acts of vengeance, each of them the first, the diffusion of the sore and the ripening of the harvest, have been incontrovertibly identified. The second vial, and the loud cry, each of them the first overt acts of vengeance, have also been shewn to be one. At the

expiration of the loud voice, he who had the cloud for his throne began to reap the whole earth; and this next act of the reaping has been demonstrated to be expressed under different symbols in the blood of the rivers and fountains of waters. The ripening of the harvest is in the first vial; the signal to reap is given in the second; the proper harvest is exactly included in the third, when upon the casting the sickle on the earth with vengeance and rapidity, not only the harvest but the earth itself, perhaps the Empire itself (for some strength must be allowed to the expression) is instantly reaped. It may be remarked, however, that in this reaping the Son of Man is not so *immediately* implicated as may at first appear. The expression intimates that he never left the cloud: he that *sat* on the cloud *cast in* his sickle on the earth; and the consequence was, that the earth *was*, in some manner, reaped. It does not appear that, strictly speaking, the Son of Man reaped the earth: he only threw in the sickle, as a remote cause. He threw, as it were, the spark upon the earth; the flame caught and spread. Another peculiarity is, that there is not any gathering of the harvest, and threshing it afterwards: the ear is with speedy vengeance cut down where it stood. In the vintage the vine is first gathered, and then trodden; by which it appears that the preparation for the vintage is longer and different. In the vintage there is the cutting, the gathering, the casting into the wine-press, the treading, and the flowing out of the blood of the grape. In the harvest we have only the cutting down.

17. “ And another angel came out from the
“ temple which in the heaven, having he also
“ a sickle sharp.”

This angel comes to introduce the vintage, and these events will as certainly come as harvest and vintage in their season :

“ For that a nation shamefully debased
Will be despised and trampled on at last,
Unless sweet penitence her powers renew,
Is truth ; if history itself be true.”

“ Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe :
come get you down, for the press is full, the fats
overflow, for their wickedness is great.” Joel
iii. 13.

I have turned aside from all controversy respecting the import of the harvest and vintage. The scriptural parallels, the context, the apocalyptic parallels and connexions, with their own independent interpretations, and all the circumstances of time, place, and description, demand most clearly a harvest of *judgment*. On so plain a question I was unwilling to submit a tedious discussion ; and if any one should require more full and satisfactory information upon the subject, he may receive it from Dr. Faber.

But who is this angel ? The harvest-man and grape-gatherer are clearly distinct ; and what power is symbolized by the grape-gatherer who, as a source and means of judgment, comes forth from this same great European temple ? This event lies yet unborn in the womb of futurity ;

nor perhaps can we with full correctness foresee what manner of event this will be, what will be its appearance, name, and nature. As, however, he has neither crown, nor white cloud, he has not any *specified* ecclesiastical authority, nor purity, nor national existence. He has only the instrument of vengeance in his hand, expressive of what will be found the effect of his appearance; and as he appears before the signal is given for action, and without any loud cry, he makes a more silent entrance on the stage, nor at first is conspicuous for any remarkable action.

Whence does he proceed? He does not belong to the Mount Sion nor to the temple, neither to the Roman Empire nor to its corrupt Church. The temple upon the whole Roman earth, the corrupt church, is the great temple of this prophecy, to which he would have belonged had the temple been *simply* mentioned. But he belongs to the temple specified to be in heaven, or rather perhaps to the temple of him in the heaven. He proceeds *εκ τοῦ νεροῦ τοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, from that temple belonging especially to the idea of him who sat on the cloud. His temple was specified in the first verses of the eleventh chapter, which so clearly exhibited to us the Church in England. This angel, therefore, if the proposed translation be correct, has the strongest connexion with England. Upon the common translation we shall arrive at the same conclusion. Some temple in heaven is opposed to the desiled temple of the earth, the subject of the prophecy. That this temple in heaven is the temple of the Son of Man, who lately reaped, is not obscurely

intimated by his coming *from* the temple (probably of the Son of Man), and having *also*, like the Son of Man, a sharp sickle. How insignificant is this *also* on the common translation: and how strongly significant on the supposition that he proceeds from the temple of him in the heaven, and *also* has a similar sharp sickle in his hand!

Thus then does this Power, without any specified crown of ecclesiastical authority, and without any loud and expressive cry of lamentation, come silently into view on the side of the pure worshippers. The angel of the earth's temple by his utterance of the last loud cry was the cause of the judgment upon the earth; and the pure church was not the *mover*. Here again, although this angel is at once marshalled on the pure side as from the temple of him in the heaven, yet the pure society is not the *mover* of actual vengeance. Another, of the earth, as we shall very shortly perceive, calls his effects into action.

Now then, if it be once more demanded, ‘Who is this angel?’ it may boldly be suggested, that as chronologically parallel prophecies incontrovertibly teach us that the people of the Jews will about this time break forth from the Continent of Europe, upon the invitation of the pure maritime power, an event necessarily fraught with the most important consequences, it may be more than probable that this people are in this angel. This angel may denote that people who now make the escape from the Roman Empire, typified by their escape from the Egyptian, more than three thousand years before. The consideration of chap. xvi. may lend a slight confirmation.

But this nation, as we gather from the more ancient prophecies, will so put themselves in an unconverted state under the protection of the pure maritime nation of the latter days, as not to be principals in the war, scarcely allies, but as a people whose cause is espoused by the pure nation. Such is the obvious concordant intimation from St. John. He belongs to the temple of him who sat upon the white cloud of the pure English nation, and he has no crown of ecclesiastical establishment upon his head. But why, it may be asked, if such the comparative weakness, why has *he* the sharp sickle, and why does *he* gather the grapes? Simply, as in the case of England in the harvest, because the *effect* of such appearance is such vengeance and such gathering. The prophetic eye sees events in their grand causes, however remote; not in the immediate instruments. The effect of his appearance is the gathering of the vine, and casting it into the wine-press, which we shall find placed in the land of Judæa. Here ends this effect: *he* does not tread the vine. His motions have only the effect of collecting the whole idolatrous church in the wine-press which is in that land of Judæa, which exactly extends the 1600 furlongs; but they are actually trodden by some symbolical horses, for blood flows to the horses' bridles, and this latter expression cannot merely be a form for a great slaughter. It is true that the Jerusalem Talmud, upon occasion of some great calamity to the Jews, says, that *the horses waded in blood up to their nostrils*; and parallel expressions are likewise

found in the classic authors, for Silinus Italicus, speaking of Hannibal's descent into Italy, uses the similar expression of *the bridles flowing with much blood*. Yet there is not such a thing as a general expression in the condensed style of the Apocalypse. When in chap. xix. we find that the destruction of the enemies of God takes place by the agency of riders upon horses, it is not to be doubted that this expression is intended to identify the scenes and the destructions ; that on the one hand the white horses and horsemen of chap. xix. defeat their enemies in the same land which extendeth the 1600 furlongs, and on the other, that the treading the wine-press is more fully developed in chap. xix. Is it a slight thing that the vaunt of the angel in the sun has now become evidently vain ? He called to the fowls of the air to feed upon the flesh of *horses, and of them that sat on them*. But in the event the blood of those who uttered the barbarous summons flows even to the horses' bridles, and all the fowls are filled with their flesh.

There is a possibility, and I had almost said a probability, that every part of this idea may be correct ; but let us postpone any further consideration until we have enquired who it is that has power over fire, who belongs to the altar of the temple on the earth, and who makes so loud a cry and lamentation.

18. “ And another angel came out from the altar
“ having a power over the fire ; and cried with
“ a cry loud to him having the sickle the

- “ sharp, saying, Send in thy sickle the sharp:
“ and gather the clusters of the vine of the
“ earth, because there are fully ripe the
19. “ grapes of her. And cast in the angel his
“ sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine
“ of the earth ; and cast into the wine-press of
20. “ the poison of God, the great (*vine*). And
“ there was trodden the wine-press without
“ the city ; and there came out blood out of
“ the wine-press, even unto the bridles of the
“ horses, from furlongs a thousand six hun-
“ dred.”

If now the angel who belonged to the defiled temple of the earth, and who cried with a loud voice before the reaping, be significant of the momentous atrocities of Revolutionary France, we are to have a cry at least as loud from the altar, the most sacred part of what I conceive *the same* temple ; for it does not seem to me that the manner of the passage will permit this altar to be of the temple of him who sat in heaven. It may nevertheless be a questionable, and it certainly is an important point.

The temple, however, I conceive to be the Church of the corrupted Roman earth. When a city, temple, and altar were all introduced, the altar was shewn to be representative of the clergy of the most holy part of the city. The cry from this altar may therefore be from the whole body of the clergy of the whole Roman Empire. As, however, there is no city in the symbol, the altar, that most important and eminent part of the

temple, may be confined to the representation of the proper Roman or Italian Church, the sun worn by the Western Woman. It is thus either the representative of the whole clergy of the Roman Empire, or of the more proper Church of Rome, who utters a very expressive and loud lament. That the idea of lamentation and suffering is included, sufficiently appears on the face of the subject. The French Revolution *cried* with a loud speech, and in the original for the *verb* there is a plaintive intermixture. But the variation in the present description gives much additional strength; since every word must be significant, something there must be in this variation. The *σπαστον* occurs in xxi. 4: there is no more death, neither sorrow, nor *crying*, nor pain; and such *crying* is certainly the result of pain. In the instance before us there is the same *crying*; and there must, consequently, be great pain. The clergy of the whole Roman Empire, perhaps represented in the proper Roman clergy, are to endure affliction to a much greater point of bitterness than was experienced in the French Revolution; and this remark will independently receive immediate and important corroboration.

The specification is that he has power over (the vial of) fire (*gen.*) Now these angels have hitherto gone hand in hand with the angels of the vials; and consequently the next events in the history of each set of angels probably correspond. This angel of chap. xiv, who belongs to the altar, has power over fire, and makes a loud lament without reformation, must therefore have

a strong connexion, or indeed identity with the fourth angel; who, in xvi. 8, has either power given unto him to scorch men with fire, or is the grand agent in giving the sun this power, so that men are scorched a great scorching yet blasphemous the more, who appears immediately after a voice from the altar, and who pours out a vial of great suffering and lamentation upon the sun, the proper Roman Church, or Romish Clergy.

The events between the fourth and seventh vial are thus made preparatory to the vintage; and the angel of the fourth vial in the great afflictions to the Romish clergy, and in his power, direct through himself, or indirect through the sun, over the symbol of war, is thus the real cause of the first cutting the grapes of the earth's vine. His loud cry is yet no more effective than for the cutting of the branches: his effect is nothing beyond the cutting: he has little concern with the casting of the vine into the wine-press, or the treading of it in the land which extendeth the 1600 furlongs, or the consequent effusion of blood.

Again, there is not to be expected an apostasy in the Romish clergy, as Revolutionary France apostatized; because there is nothing correspondent to the blood of the *dead carcase* of the second vial. At the same time there is greater suffering under more overwhelming circumstances of horror and mourning than even when every soul of life died in the bloody sea of French Revolution. They are scorched with a great scorching, and are yet more corrupted. A similar conclusion

may be drawn from the remark that the *sharpness* of the sickle of this angel is a point more insisted upon than it was with respect to the Son of Man.

The angel, the conjectured representative of the Jewish community, apparently comes forth a little before the contemporary angel from the altar; and therefore a little before the turning down of the cup for the effusion of the fourth vial. If he do not thus precede, he certainly at least comes forth simultaneously. The fourth vial however is not the cutting of the grapes; but only the signal to cut. The sun is afflicted; and men are scorched by his power newly given. Thus the effect of the appearance of our angel, connected with England, is connected with the Romish sufferings, and with the notable Power of excessive scorching now added to a sun so lately eclipsed. These latter give him the signal to gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, from the demonstration that the grapes were ripe for such purpose. The direct effect of the Romish clerical sufferings, and the consequent power of scorching, is the cutting off the clusters.

These are wild grapes ('He looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes'), or the poisonous fruits by which the poisonous tree is known. The evil designs and actions of the corrupt when ripe for judgment are to have a direction given to them, which will collectively bring the whole vine of the earth into the great wine-press of the land, extending 1600 furlongs. 'Put ye in the sickle,' said Joel, 'for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for

the press is full; the fats overflow; for their wickedness is great.' The grapes of the vine of the earth are ripe, when *the wickedness is great*. The measure of iniquity is more than filled up: the grapes are over-ripe.

So far is this angel connected. But more we shall find to be effected than is included under his influence. There is eventually cut, not the grapes only which may be cut under the fourth vial, but *the whole vine, fruit and stock*.

He thrust his sickle into the earth, preparatory to gathering the grapes or the vine. Here is the fifth vial on the temporal power, on the earth, on the throne of the beast, *so that* his kingdom, a symbol always ecclesiastical, was full of darkness.

He then gathered the vine of the earth; and here is the sixth vial. His sickle, still not directly upon the vine but upon the earth, upon the temporal powers of the Euphratean waters, effects such a change as to prepare the way of the ecclesiastical kings of the East. When the vine is cut down and ready, then ends the sixth vial.

He cast the great vine into the wine-press of wrath. The interval between the sixth and seventh vials effects this casting, when all the kings or churches of the whole world are gathered together to Armagedon. These compose the whole vine: this vine is cast into the wine-press; and this casting into the wine-press must be the gathering into Armagedon. This angel of the altar, or the Sun of Rome, is therefore the connected

cause that the angelic representative of the Jews gathers the whole vine to Armagedon; while in xix. 17 an angel, apparently the same, stands in the sun, and invites all to the supper of the great God. But the three frog-like spirits perform the same office, as the agents proceeding from the mouth of a triune Enemy, who for this purpose opens his mouth and calls, and is thus identified with the angel in the sun.

And the wine-press was trodden. This treading of the gathered vine in the wine-press, as it is contained in the twentieth verse, is exactly correspondent with the seventh vial in xvi. 17, when there came a great voice saying, “It is done.” The wine-press is trodden.

And blood came out of the wine-press. The effect is in the seven plagues, contained in the last four verses of the sixteenth chapter; and the blood which issued is symbolical of affliction, and should seem to be the blood of the grape.

Upon the place of vengeance it may be desirable to say a few words, though the subject be properly postponed to another place. The grand source is the wine-press; the grand cause the treading the wine-press; but blood from that wine-press flows over a thousand stadia, or 181 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles English, at 600 feet the stadium. The holy land, according to Jerome, measures in length 200 Roman, or 160 Grecian miles. The Romans, as is observed by Mede, reckoned eight furlongs to a mile, but the Greeks allowed ten, so that by either computation the extent is just 1600 furlongs. But the site of this wine-press is without

the walls of the ten-streeted Roman city or church, not without the old Roman Empire, but without the influence of the Latin Church. As therefore many prophecies concur in pointing out the mountains of Israel as the scene of the downfall of the enemies, as this country is without the city, and as its extent along the sea shore is precisely the 1600 stadia, we may suspect, even prior to any consideration of the term Armagedon, that Jerusalem is the wine-press ; and at all events we may be certain that Judaea is the land in which that wine-press is built. As England was shewn to be the temple of the city, England is not without the city ; and consequently did even our island extend any way 1600 stadia, it would still be positively excluded.

As the nineteenth chapter contains in its latter part the same final destruction of the enemies, it of course must coincide with the present passage, as well as with the seventh vial. The two last verses of the nineteenth chapter are the same events of the treading the vine and the consequent plagues. The correspondence we might therefore expect, we find both direct and indirect. We find a direct correspondence inasmuch as the false prophet and the vine of the earth, each representative of the corrupt church, meet the same final destruction ; and the indirect correspondence is at least as strong ; for in the xixth chapter, the destruction is effected by riders upon horses, and in our present description, blood proceeds out of the wine-press, where it is high as the bridles of some symbolical horses who seem to be treading the wine-press,

and flows over the whole of the measured land. It is moreover distinctly asserted in the nineteenth chapter, that the great horseman, the symbolical Word of God, is he that *treadeth the wine-press* of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God ; or he that treadeth the wine-press of the poisonous wine of the Almighty. Mede, I find, agrees in this conclusion. It has been whimsically computed (and still more whimsically has the computation been lately somewhat corrected), that to cover the whole holy land with blood would require the massacre of sixty billions of men. ‘ But,’ says a most learned writer, ‘ he over-rates the whole land, so that reducing his calculation, it brings the result nearly to billions or millions of millions, supposing *millions* to correspond to *multitudes* in the *hyperbolical*, though consistent imagery of prophecy.’ This is really a singular explanation. The blood in this sense is indeed so *hyperbolical*, as to be an utter violation of all symbolical propriety. It surely is most clear that the blood of the grape in *the wine-press*, is to this height, even to the bridles of the horses who tread the wine-press ; and that the blood thence flows out (as we shall find in seven streams) throughout the measured land, as the lava from the volcanic mountain.

Is it now too nice a refinement to enquire what becomes of the wine which is made ? When we note the great title of the wine-press, the wine-press of the wrath or the poison of God, a title repeated in the nineteenth chapter ; and when we observe the denunciation that every corrupt community *shall* drink of the wine of the wrath,

or the poisonous wine of God, we can be allowed to conceive that from this wine-press proceeds the poisonous wine, according to the threat of the third angel in the tenth verse. The wild or poisonous grapes could yield no wine but poisonous. The blood which flows from the wine-press must be the blood of the grape, and that poisonous wine which is filled to the enemies double. This is the era of the seven plagues.

Whenever the quality of wine occurs, the symbol from the idea of the blood of the vine has a direct ecclesiastical allusion. One of the four beasts will indeed be found to give seven vials full of the wrath of God, not only at a time clearly prior to the great treading of the wine-press, and the consequent making of the wine, ~~but~~ for objects not properly ecclesiastical. But it is to be very carefully noted that this, although it be the wrath or the poison of God, is not *the wine* of the wrath or poison. (See i. 160.) There is a clear difference in the expressions, and such difference must be significant. The wine is not made until the wine-press is trodden; although the wrath, or the poison, perhaps to be mingled in this wine, may have been in prior existence. The fulfilment of the threat in the tenth verse, as far as it respects the wine, must be posterior to the commencement of the seventh vial, when at the voice ‘It is done,’ the wine-press is trodden. The blood from the wine-press will thus exactly coincide with the pouring out of the wine, or with the consequent infliction of the seven plagues, or

with the avenging transactions in the latter part of the nineteenth chapter. The angel of the seventh vial finds the vine in the wine-press, and under him it is trodden: ‘It is done.’ The blood flows from the wine-press, while the seven angels inflict their plagues. But to the sixteenth and nineteenth chapters, I defer the consideration of these mighty events, still insisting as we proceed that from every circumstance we gather additional assurance that England is reserved for triumph and glory.

End of the First Volume.

